A Moſt pleaſant, fruitfull, and wittie worke, of the beſt ſtate of a publique weale, and of the new Yle called *Vtopia*:

Written in Latine, by the right worthie and famous Syr *Thomas Moore* Knight: and tranſlated into Engliſh by *Raphe Robinſon*, ſometime fellow of *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Oxford*.

And now this third Edition, newly corrected and amended.



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Thomas Moore to Peter

Giles, ſendeth greeting.

I Am almoſt aſhamed, right welbeloued *Peter Giles*, to ſend vnto you this Booke of the Vtopian Common-wealth, welnigh after a yeres ſpace, which I am ſure you looked for within a moneth and a halfe. And no maruel. For you knewe well inough, that I was alreadie diſburthened of all the labor and ſtudy belonging to the inuention in this worke, and that I had no need at all to trouble my braines about the diſpoſition, or conueiance of the matter: and therefore had heerein nothing elſe to do, but only to rehearſe thoſe things, which you and I togithers heard maiſter *Raphael* tell and declare. Wherefore there was no cauſe why I ſhould ſtudie to ſet foorth the matter with eloquence: foraſmuch as his talke could not be fine and eloquent, being firſt not ſtudied for, but ſuddaine and vnpremeditate: and then, as you know, of a man better ſeene in the Greek language, then in the Latin tongue. And my writing, the nigher it ſhould approache to his homely, plaine, and ſimple ſpeech, ſo much the nigher ſhould it go to the truth: which is the onely marke, whereunto I doo and ought to direct all my trauaile and ſtudie herein. I grant and confeſſe, friend *Peter*, my ſelfe diſcharged of ſo much labor, hauing all theſe things readie done to my hand, that almoſt there was nothing left for me to do. Elſe either the inuention, or the diſpoſition of this matter, might haue required of a wit neither baſe, neither at all vnlearned, both ſome time and leiſure, and alſo ſome ſtudie. But if it were requiſite, and neceſſary, that the matter ſhould alſo haue bin written eloquently, and not alone truly: of a ſuertie that thing could I haue performed by no time nor ſtudie. But now ſeeing all theſe cares, ſtaies and lettes, were taken away, wherein elſe ſo much labour and ſtudie ſhould haue bene employed, and

Truth loueth ſimplicitie & plainneſſe.

that there remained no other thing for me to do, but onely to write plainly the matter as I heard it ſpoken: that indeed was a thing light and eaſie to be done. Howbeit to the diſpatching of this ſo little buſineſſe, my other cares and troubles did leaue almoſt leſſe, then no leiſure. Whiles I do dayly beſtow my time about lawe matters: ſome to plead, ſome to heare, ſome as an arbitratour with mine award to determine: ſome as an vmpier or a Iudge, with my ſentence finally to diſcuſſe. Whiles I go one way to ſee & viſit my friend: an other way about mine owne priuate affaires. Whiles I ſpend almoſt all the day abroad among other, and the reſidue at home among mine owne: I leaue to my ſelfe, I mean to my booke, no time. For when I am come home, I muſt commune with my wife, chatte with my children, and talke with my ſeruants. All the which things I recken & account among buſineſſe, foraſmuch as they muſt of neceſſitie bee done: and done muſt they needes be, vnleſſe a man will be a ſtraunger in his owne houſe. And in any wiſe a man muſt ſo faſhion and order his conditions, and ſo appoint and diſpoſe himſelf, that he be merie, iocund, and pleaſant among them, whom either nature hath prouided, or chance hath made, or he himſelfe hath choſen to be the fellowes, and companions of his life: ſo that with too much gentle behauiour and familiaritie, he doo not marre them, and by too much ſufferance of his ſeruants, make them his maiſters. Among theſe things now rehearſed, ſtealeth away the day, the month, the yeare. When do I write then? And all this while haue I ſpoken no word of ſleepe, neither yet of meate, which among a great number doth waſte no leſſe time, then doth ſleepe, wherein almoſt halfe the life time of man creepeth away. I therefore do winne and get onely that time, which I ſteale from ſleepe and meate. Which time becauſe it is verie little, and yet ſomwhat it is, therfore haue I once at the laſt, though it be long firſt, finiſhed *Vtopia*, and haue ſent it to you, friend *Peter*, to reade and peruſe: to the intent that if any thing haue eſcaped me, you might put mee in remembrance of it. For though in this behalfe I do not greatly miſtruſt my ſelf

The authors buſineſſe and lettes.

Meate and ſleep great waſters of time.

(which

(which would God I were ſomewhat in wit and learning, as I am not all of the woorſt and dulleſt memorie) yet haue I not ſo great truſt and confidence in it, that I thinke nothing could fall out of my minde. For *Iohn Clement* my boy, who as you know, was there preſent with vs, whom I ſuffred to be away from no talke, wherin may be any profit or goodneſſe (for out of this yong bladed and new ſhot vp corne, which hath alreadie begun to ſpring vp, both in Latin and Greeke learning, I looke for plentifull encreaſe at length of goodly ripe graine) hee I ſay, hath brought me into a great doubt. For whereas *Hythloday* (vnleſſe my memory faile me) ſayd that the bridge of *Amaurote*, which goeth ouer the Riuer of *Anyder*, is fiue hundreth paces: that is to ſay, halfe a myle in length: my *Iohn* ſaith, that two hundreth of thoſe paces muſt be plucked away, for that the Ryuer conteineth there not aboue three hundreth paces in breadth. I pray you heartily call the matter to your remembrance. For if you agree with him, I alſo will ſay as you ſay, and confeſſe my ſelfe deceiued. But if you cannot remember the thing, then ſurely I will write as I haue done, and as mine own remembrance ſerueth me. For as I will take good heed, that there be in my booke nothing falſe, ſo if there be any thing doubtfull, I will rather tell a lye, then make a lye: becauſe I had rather be good, then wilie. Howbeit this matter may eaſily be remedied, if you will take the paines to aske the queſtion of *Raphael* himſelfe by word of mouth, if he be now with you, or elſe by your letters. Which you muſt needes do for an other doubt alſo, that hath chaunced, through whoſe fault I cannot tell: whether through mine, or yours, or *Raphaels*. For neither we remembred to enquire of him, nor he to tell vs in what part of the new worlde *Utopia* is ſcituate. The which thing, I had rather haue ſpent no ſmall ſumme of money, then that it ſhould thus haue eſcaped vs: aſwel for that I am aſhamed to be ignoraunt in what ſea that Iland ſtandeth, wherof I write ſo long a Treatiſe as alſo becauſe there be with vs certain men, eſpecially one vertuous and godly man, and a profeſſor of diuinitie, who is exceeding deſirous

A diuerſitie between making a lie, and telling a lie.

In what part of the world Vtopia ſtandeth, is vnknowne.

It is thought of ſome, that here is vnfainedly ment the late famous Vicare of Croydon in Surrey.

to go vnto *Vtopia*: not for a vaine and curious desire to see newes, but to the intent he may further and increase our religion, which is there alreadie luckely begun. And that hee may the better accomplish and performe this his good intent, he is minded to procure that he may be sent thither by the high Bishop: yea, and that he himself may be made Bishop of *Vtopia*, being nothing scrupulous heerein, that hee must obteine this Bishoprick with sute. For he counteth that a godly sute, which proceedeth not of the desire of honour or lucre, but onely of a godly zeale. Wherefore I most earnestly desire you, friend *Peter*, to talke with *Hythloday*, if you can, face to face, or else to write your letters to him, and so to work in this matter, that in this my booke there may neither any thing be found, which is vntrue, neither any thing be lacking, which is true. And I thinke verily it shalbe well done, that you shew vnto him the booke it selfe. For if I haue missed or failed in any point, or if any faulte haue escaped me, no man can so well correct and amend it, as he can: and yet that can he not do, vnlesse he peruse, and reade ouer my booke written. Moreouer, by this means shall you perceiue, whether he be well willing and content, that I should vndertake to put this worke in writing. For if he be minded to publish and put forth his owne labours and trauailes himselfe, perchance he would be loth, and so would I also, that in publishing the Vtopian weale publique, I should preuent him, and take from him the flower and grace of the noueltie of this his historie. Howbeit, to say the very truth, I am not yet fully determined with my selfe, whether I will put forth my booke or no. For the natures of men be so diuers, the fantasies of some so wayward, their mindes so vnkinde, their iudgements so corrupt, that they which leade a merie and a iocond life, following their own sensuall pleasures and carnall lusts, may seeme to be in a much better state or case, then they that vexe and vnquiet themselues with cares and studie, for the putting forth and publishing of some thing, that may bee either profitte or pleasure to others: which others neuertheless will disdainfully, scornfully, and vnkindly

The vnkind iudgements of men.

kindly accept the ſame. The moſt part of all bee vnlearned. And a great number hath learning in contempt. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothing, but that which is very barbarous indeede. If it be one that hath a litle ſmacke of learning, he reiecteth as homelie geare and commō ware, whatſoeuer is not ſtuffed full of old motheaten tearmes, and that be worne out of vſe. Some there be that haue pleaſure onelie in old ruſtie antiquities. And ſome onely in their own dooings. One is ſo ſower, ſo crabbed, and ſo vnpleaſant, that he can away with no mirth nor ſport. An other is ſo narrow betweene the ſhoulders, that hee can beare no ieaſtes nor tauntes. Some ſelie poore ſoules bee ſo afraid, that at euery ſnappiſh word, their noſe ſhalbe bitten off, that they ſtand in no leſſe dreade of euery quicke and ſharpe word, then he that is bitten of a mad dogge feareth water. Some be ſo mutable and wauering, that euery houre they be in a newe mind, ſaying one thing ſitting, and an other thing ſtanding. An other ſort ſitteth vpon their ale-benches, and there among their cuppes they giue iudgement of the wits of writers, and with great authoritie they condemne euen as pleaſeth them, euery writer according to his writing, in moſt ſpightfull maner, mocking, lowting and flowting them: being themſelues in the meane ſeaſon ſafe, and as ſaith the prouerbe, out of all daunger of gunne-ſhotte. For why, they be ſo ſmugge and ſo ſmoothe, that they haue not ſo much as one heart of an honeſt man, whereby one may take hold of them. There be moreouer ſome ſo vnkinde, and vngentle, that though they take great pleaſure and delectation in the worke, yet for all that, they can not finde in their hearts to loue the Author thereof, nor to aford him a good word, being much like vncourteous, vnthankful, and churliſh gueſts, which when they haue with good and daintie meates well fil'ed their bellies, depart home, giuing no thankes to the feaſt-maker. Go your waies now, and make a coſtly feaſt at your owne charges for gueſts, ſo daintie mouthed ſo diuers in taſte, and beſides that of ſo vnkinde and vnthankfull natures. But neuertheleſſe (friend *Peter*) do, I pray you with *Hithloday*, as I willed you before. And as for this matter I

A fit ſimilitude.

ſhall

ſhall bee at my libertie, afterwards to take new aduiſement. Howbeit, ſeeing I haue takē great paines & labor in writing the matter, if it may ſtand with his mind and pleaſure, I will as touching the Edition or publiſhing of the Booke, follow the counſell and aduiſe of my friends, and ſpecially yours. Thus fare you well right heartely, beloued friend *Peter*, with your gentle wife: and loue me as you haue euer done, for I loue you better then euer I did.

The first Booke of

the communication of *Raphael*, *Hythloday*, concerning the best *state of a common-wealth.*

THe most victorious and triumphant King of England, Henry the eight of that name, in all royall vertues, a Prince most peereleſſe, had of late in controuerſie with Charles, the right high and mightie King of Caſtile, weightie matters, and of great importaunce. For the debatement and finall determination whereof, the Kings Maieſtie ſent me Ambaſſadour into Flaunders, ioyned in commiſſion with Cuthbert Tunſtall, a man doubtleſſe out of compariſon, and whom the Kings Maieſtie of late, to the great reioyſing of all men, did preferre to the office of Maiſter of the Rolles. Cuthbert Tunſtall.

But of this mans prayſes I will ſay nothing, not becauſe I dow feare that ſmall credence ſhalbe giuen to the teſtimonie that commeth out of a friendes mouth: but becauſe his vertue and learning be greater, and of more excellencie, then that I am able to praiſe them: and alſo in all places ſo famous and ſo perfectly wel known, that they néede not, nor ought not of me to bee prayſed, vnleſſe I would ſeeme to ſhewe and ſet forth the brightneſſe of the ſunne with a candle, as the Prouerbe ſayeth. There met vs at Bruges (for thus it was before agréed) they whom their Prince had for that matter appointed Commiſſioners: excellent men all. The chiefe and the head of them

was the Maregraue (as they call him) of Bruges a right honorable man: but the wisest and the best spoken of them was George Temsice, prouost of Cassels, a man, not only by learning, but also by nature, of singuler eloquence, and in the lawes profoundlie learned: but in reasoning and debating of matters, what by his natural wit, & what by daily exercise, surely he had few fellowes. After that we had once or twise mette, and vppon certaine poyntes or articles coulde not fully and throughly agree, they for a certayne space toke theyr leaue of vs, and departed to Bruxelle, there to know their Princes pleasure. I in the meane time (for so my businesse lay) went straight thence to Antwerpe. Whiles I was there abiding, oftentimes among other, but which to mee was more welcome then anye other, did visit me one Peter Giles, a Cittizen of Antwerpe, a man there in his countrey of honest reputation, and also preferred to high promotions, worthie truly of the highest. For it is hard to say, whether the yong man bee in learning, or in honestie more excellent. For he is both of wonderfull vertuous conditions, and also singularly well learned, and towardes all sortes of people exceeding gentle: But towardes his friendes so kinde hearted, so louing, so faithfull, so trustie, and of so earnest affection, that it were verie harde in any place to finde a man, that with him in all pointes of friendship maye bee compared. No man can be more lowely or courteous. No man vseth lesse simulation, or dissimularion, in no man is more prudent simplicitie. Besides this, he is in his talke and communication so merry and pleasaunt, yea and that without harme, that through his gentle entertaynement, and his sweete and delectable communication, in mee was greatly abated and diminished the feruent desire that I had to see my native countrey, my wife and my children, whome then I did much long and couet to see: because that at that time I had beene more then foure monethes from them. Upon a certaine day when I

Peter Giles.

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hadde heard the diuine seruice in our Ladies Church, which is the fayrest, the most gorgious and curious Church of building in all the citie, and also most frequented of people, and the seruice being done, was readye to goe home to my lodging, I chaunced to espye this foresayde Peter talking with a captaine straunger, a man well stricken in age, with a blacke sunburned face, a long beard, and a cloake cast homely about his shoulders, whome by his fauour and apparell forthwith I iudged to bee a mariner. But the sayd Peter seeing me, came vnto mee and saluted mee. And as I was about to aunswere him: see you this man, sayth he (and therewith he poynted to the man, that I sawe him talking with before) I was minded, quoth hee, to bring him straight home to you. He should haue beene very welcome to me, sayd I, for your sake. Nay (quoth he) for his owne sake, if you knew him: for there is no man this day liuing, that can tell you of so manie straunge and vnknowne peoples, and Countryes, as this man can. And I knowe well that you be very desirous to heare of such newes. Then I coniectured not farre a misse (quoth I) for euen at the first sight, I iudged him to bee a marriner. Nay (quoth he) there ye were greatly deceiued: he hath sayled indeede, not as the mariner Palinure, but as the experte and prudent Prince Vlisses: Yea, rather as the ancient and sage Philosopher Plato. For this same Raphael Hythloday (for this is his name) he is very well learned in the Latin tongue: but profound & excellent in the Greeke language. Wherein he euer bestowed more studie then in the Latine, because he had giuen himselfe wholy to the studie of philosophy. Whereof he knew that there is nothing certaine in Latine, that is to any purpose, sauing a few of Senecaes, and Ciceroes dooings. His patrimonie that he was borne vnto, hee left to his brethren (for he is a Portugall borne) and for the desire hee hadde to see, and knowe the farre Countreyes of the world, he ioyned himselfe in company

Raphaell Hithloday.

with Amerike Vespuce, and in the three last voyages of those foure that be now in print, & abroade in euery mans hands, he continued stil in his company, sauing that in the last voyage hee came not home againe with him. For he made such meanes and shift, what by intreatance, and what by importune suite, that he gotte licence of maister Americke (though it were sore against his will) to be one of the twentie foure which in ỹ end of the last voiage were left in the countrey of Gulike. He was therefore left behinde for his minde sake, as one that toke more thought and care for trauailing, then dying: hauing customably in his mouth these sayings. He that hath no graue, is couered with the skie: and, the way to heauen out of all places is of like length and distaunce. Which fantasie of his, (if God had not bene his better friend) he had surelie bought full dere. But after the departing of Maister Vespuce, when hee had trauailed through and about many Countries with fiue of his companions Gulikians, at the last by meruaylous chaunce hee arriued in Taprobane, from whence he went to Caliquit, where he chaunced to finde certaine of his Countrey ships, wherein he returned againe into his Countrey, nothing lesse then looked for. All this when Peter had tolde mee, I thanked him for his gentle kindnesse: that hee hadde vouchsafed to bring mee to the speeche of that man, whose communication, he thought shoulde bee to mee pleasaunt, and exceptable. And therewith I tourned me to Raphaell. And when wee had hayled each other, and hadde spoken these commune words, that bee customably spoken at the first meeting, and acquaintaunce of straungers, we went thence to my house, and there in my gardaine vpon a bench couered with greene torues, we sat downe talking togither. There he tolde vs, how that after the departing of Vespuce, he and his fellowes that taryed behind in Gulicke, began by little and little, through fayre and gentle speech, to win the loue and fauour of the people of that countrey,

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insomuch that within short space, they did dwell among them not onely harmelesse, but also occupying with them very familiarly. He tolde vs also, that they were in high reputation and fauour with a certayne great man (whose name & countrey is now quite out of my remembraunce) which of his mere liberalitie did beare the costs and charges of him and his fiue companions. And besides that, gaue them a trustie guide to conducte them in their iourney (which by water was in boats, and by lande in wagõs), and to bring them to other princes with very friendly commendations.

Thus after many dayes iourneys, he sayd, they foũd townes, and Cities, and weale publiques, full of people, gouerned by good and holsome lawes. For vnder the line equinoctiall, and on both sides of the same, as farre as the sunne doth extend his course, lyeth (quoth he) great and wide desartes and wildernesses, parched, burned, and dryed vp with continuall and intollerable heate. All things be hideous, terrible, loathsome, and vnpleasaunt to beholde: All things out of fashion and comelinesse, inhabited with wilde Beastes, and Serpentes, or at the least wise, with people, that be no lesse sauage, wild, and noysome, then the verye beastes themselues bee. But a little further beyonde that, all things begin by little and little to waxe pleasaunt. The ayre soft, temperate, and gentle. The ground couered with greene grasse. Lesse wildenesse in the beastes. At the last shall ye come againe to people, cities and townes, wherein is continual entercourse and occupying of merchaundise and chaffare, not onely among themselues, and with their Borderers, but also with merchaunts of far Countries, both by lande and water. There I had occasion (sayd he) to go to many countryes on euery side. For there was no shippe readie to any voyage or iourney, but I and my fellowes were into it very gladlye receiued. The shippes that they founde first, were made plain, flat, & broad in the bottom trough-wise. Ships of strange fashion.

wise. The sayles were made of great rushes, or of twickers, and in some places of leather. Afterward they found ships with ridged kyles, and sayles of canuasse: yea, and shortly after hauing all things like ours. The shipmen also were expert and cunning, both in the Sea, and in the weather. But he said, that he found great fauour and freendship among them, for teaching them the feate and vse of the lode stone. Which to them before that time was vnknowne. And therefore they were wont to bee verie timerous and fearefull vpon the sea: Nor to venture vpon it, but onelie in the summer time. But now they haue such a confidence in that stone, that they feare not stormy winter: in so doing, farther from care then daunger. In so much, that it is greatly to be doubted, least that thing, through their owne foolish hardinesse, shall turne them to euill and harme, which at the first was supposed should be to them good and commodious. But what he tolde vs that he sawe in euery country where he came, it were verie long to declare. Neither it is my purpose at this time to make rehearsall thereof. But peradaenture in an other place will I speake of it: chiefely such things as shall bee profitable to bee knowne: as in speciall be those decrees and ordinaunces, that he marked to be well and wittilie prouided and enacted among such peoples, as do liue together in a ciuill policie, and good order. For of such things did wee busilye enquire, and demaunde of him, and hee likewise verie willinglye tolde vs of the same. But as for monsters, because they be no newes, of them we were nothing inquisitiue. For nothing is more easie to be found, then bee barking Scillaes, rauening Celenes, and Lestrigones, deuourers of people, and such like great, and incredible monsters. But to find Cittizens ruled by good and holesome lawes, that is an exceeding rare, and hard thing. But as he marked many fond and foolish lawes in those newe founde landes, so he rehearsed diuers actes, and constitutions, whereby these our Cities, Nations,

The loade stone.

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Countries, and kingdomes, may take example to amend their faultes, enormities and errours. Wherof in another place (as I sayde) I will intreate. Now at this time I am determined to rehearse onely that he tolde vs of the maners, customes, lawes, and ordinaunces of the Vtopians. But first I will repeat our former cõmunication by the occasion, and (as I might say) the drift whereof, he was brought into the mention of that weale publique. For, when Raphael had very prudently touched diuers things that bee amisse, some heere, and some there, yea, verie manie on both parts, and againe had spoken of such wise lawes, and prudent decrees, as be established, and vsed, both heere among vs, and also among them, as a man so perfect, and expert in the lawes, and customes of euerye seuerall Countrey, as though into what place soeuer hee came geast-wise, there he hadde led all his life: then Peter much meruailing at the man: Surely Maister Raphael (quoth hee) I wonder greatlie, why you get you not into some Kings Court. For I am sure, there is no Prince liuing, that would not be very glad of you, as a man not onlie able highlie to delight him with your profoũd learning, and this your knowledge of countries, and peoples, but also meete to instruct him with examples, and helpe him with counsaile. And thus doing, you shall bring your selfe in a very good case, and also be of habilitie to help all your frendes and kinsfolke. As concerning my frends and kinsfolke (quoth he) I passe not greatly for them. For I thinke I haue sufficientlye done my parte towardes them alreadie. For these things, that other men do not depart from, vntill they bee olde and sicke, yea, which they be then verye loath to leaue, when they can no longer keepe, those very same things did I being not onely lustie, and in good health, but also in the flowre of my youth, deuide among my frends & kinsfolkes. Which I think with this my liberalitie ought to hold them contented, and not to require nor to looke that besides this, I should for their

sakes

sakes giue my selfe in bondage vnto Kings. Nay, God forbid that (quoth Peter) it is not my minde that you shoulde bee in bondage to Kings, but as a retainour to them at your pleasure. Which surely I thinke is the nighest waye that you can deuise how to bestowe your time fruitefully, not onely for the priuate commoditie of your friendes, and for the generall profit of all sortes of people, but also for the aduauncement of your selfe to a much welthier state, and condition, then you be now in. To a welthier condition (quoth Raphael) by that meanes, that my mind standeth cleane against? Now I liue at libertie after mine owne mind and pleasure, which I thinke verye few of these great states, and peeres of realmes can say. Yea, and there be enow of them that sue for great mens friendships: and therefore thinke it no great hurte, if they haue not me, nor third or fourth such other as I am. Wel, I perceiue plainely friend Raphael (quoth I) that you bee desirous neither of richesse, nor of power. And trulie I haue in no lesse reuerence and estimation a man of your mind, then any of them all that be so high in power and authoritie. But you shall do as it becommeth you: yea, and according to this wisdome, to this high & free courage of yours, if you can find in your hart, so to appoint and dispose your selfe, that you may apply your wit & diligence to the profit of the weale publique, though it bee somewhat to your owne payne and hinderaunce. And this shall you neuer so well do, nor with so great profit performe, as if you bee of some great Princes counsaile, and put into his head (as I doubt not but you will) honest opinions, and vertuous perswasions. For from the prince, as from a perpetuall well spring, commeth among the people the flood of all that is good or euill. But in you is so perfit learning, that without anye experience, and againe so great experience, that without any learning you may well bee any Kings counsellour. You bee twise deceiued maister More (quoth hee) first in mee, and againe in the thing

it

it selfe. For neither is in me the abilitie that you force vpon mee, and if it were neuer so much, yet in disquieting mine owne quietnesse I should nothing further the weale publique. For first of all, the most part of all Princes haue more delight in warlike matters, and feates of chiualrie (the knowledge wherof I neither haue nor desire) then in ỹ good feates of peace: and imploy much more studie, how by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions, then how well, and peaceably to rule, and gouern that they haue already. Moreouer, they that be counsellers to kings, euery one of them eyther is of himselfe so wise in deede, that he needeth not, or else he thinketh himselfe so wise, that he wil not allowe an other mans counsaile, sauing that they doo shamefully, & flatteringly giue assent to the fonde and foolish sayings of certaine great men: Whose fauours, because they be in high authority with their prince, by assentatiõ and flattery they labour to obtain. And verely it is naturallie giuen to all men to esteeme their owne inuentions best. So both the Rauen & the Ape thinke their owne yong ones fairest. Then if a man in such a company, where some disdaine and haue despight, at other mens inuentions, and some count their owne best, if among such men (I say) a man should bring forth any thing, that he hath read done in times past, or that he hath seene done in other places: there the hearers, fare as though the whole estimation of their wisdome were in ieopardie to be ouerthrowne, and that euer after they should be counted for verie desards, vnles they could in other mens inuentions picke out matter to reprehend, and find fault at. If all other poore helps fayle: then this is their extreame refuge. These things (say they) pleased our forefathers and auncitors: would god we could be so wise as they were: and as though they had wittily concluded the matter, and with this answere stopped euery mans mouth, they sit downe againe. As who shoulde say, it were a very daungerous matter, if a man in anye pointe should be found wiser, then his forefathers were. And yet be we content to suffer the best and wittiest of their decrees to Triptakers.

lye vnexecuted: but if in any thing a better order might haue beene taken, then by them was, there we take fast hold, finding therein many faultes. Many times haue I chaunced vpon such proude, lewde, ouerthwart, and wayward iudgements, yea, and once) in England: I pray you Sir (quoth I) haue you beene in our countrey? Yea forsoth (quoth he) and there I taried for the space of foure or fiue moneths togither, not long after the insurrection, that the Westerne Englishmen made against their King, which by their owne miserable and pittifull slaughter was suppressed and ended. In the meane seasō, I was much bound and beholding to the right reuerend father, Iohn Morton, Archbishop and Cardinall of Canterburie, and at that time also Lord Chauncellour of England, a man Maister Peter (for maister More knoweth alreadie that I will say) not more honorable for his authoritie, then for his prudence and vertue. He was of a meane stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his body vpright.

Perciall iudgments.

Cardinall Morton.

In his face did shine such an amiable reuerence, as was pleasaunt to behold. Gentle in communication, yet earnest, and sage. He hadde great delight many times with rough speeche to his suters, to proue, but without harme, what prompt wit, and what bold spirit were in euery man. In the which as in a vertue much agreeing with his nature, so that therewith were not ioyned impudency, he toke great delectation. And ỹ same person, as apt & meet to haue an administration in the weale publique, he did louingly imbrace. In his speech he was fine, eloquent, and pythie. In the lawe he had profound knowledge, in wit he was incomparable, and in memory wonderfull excellent. These qualities, which in him were by nature singuler, he by learning & vse had made perfect. The King put much trust in his counsaile, the weale publique also in a maner leaned vnto him, whē I was there. For euen in the chief of his youth he was taken from schools into the Court, and there passed al his time in much trouble and businesse, being continually tumbled and tossed in the

wanes of diuers misfortunes and aduersities. And so by many and great dangers he learned the experiēce of the world, which so being learned, cannot easily be forgotten. It chanced on a certaine day, when I sate at his table, there was also a certaine laye man cunning in the lawes of you Realme. Who, I cannot tel, wherof taking occasion, began diligentlye and earnestlye to praise that straite and rigorous iustice, which at that time was there executed vpon fellonies, who as hee saide, were for the most part twentie hanged togither vpon one gallowes. And, seeing so fewe escaped punishment, he sayd he could not chose, but greatly wonder & marualle, how and by what euuill lucke it should so come to passe, that theeues neuertheless were in euery place so rife & so ranke. Nay Sir quoth I (for I durst boldlye speake my mind, before the Cardinal) meruaile nothing hereat: for this punishment of theeues passeth ỹ limits of iustice, & is also very hurtfull to the weale publique. For it is too extreame and cruell a punishment for theft, and yet not sufficient to restraine and withhold men from theft. For simple theft is not so great an offence, ỹ it ought to be punished with death. Neither there is any punishment so horrible, that it can keep them frō stealing, which haue no other craft, whereby to get their liuing. Therfore in this point, not you onely, but also ỹ most part of the world, be like euil schoolemaisters, which bee readier to beat, thē to teach, their scholers. For great & horrible punishments, be appointed for theeues, wheras much rather prouision should haue bin made, that there were some meanes, whereby they might get their liuing, so that no man should be driuen to this extreame necessitie: first to steale, and then to die. Yes (quoth hee) this matter is well enough prouided for alreadie. There bee handie-craftes, there is husbandrye to get their liuing by, if they would not willingly be nought. Nay, quoth I, you shall not scape so: for first of all, I will speake nothing of them, that come home out of the warres, mayned and lame, as not long ago, out of Blacke-heath fielde, and a little before that,

Of lawes not made according to equitie.

By what meanes there might be fewer theeues and robbers.

out of the warres in Fraunce: such I say, as put their liues in ieopardie for the weale publiques, or the kings sake, and by reason of weakenesse and lamenesse be not able to occupie their olde craftes, and be too aged to learne new: of them I will speake nothing, forasmuch as warres haue their ordinarie recourse. But let vs consider those things ỳ chaunce daylie before our eyes. First there is a great number of gentlemen, which cannot be content, to liue ydle themselues, like doarers, of that which other haue laboured for: their tenaunts I meane, whome they poll and shaue to the quicke, by raysing their rents (for this onely point of frugalatie do they vse, men else through their lauasse and prodigall spending, able to bring themselues to very beggerie) these gentlemen, I say, do not onelie liue in idlenesse themselues, but also carrie aboute with them at their tailes, a great flocke or traine of idle and loytering seruingmen, which neuer learned any craft, whereby to get their liuings. These men assone as their maister is dead, or be sicke themselues, be incõtinent thrust out of doores. For gentlemen had rather keepe idle persons, then sicke men, and many times the dead mans hyre is not able to maintaine so great a house, and keepe so many seruing men as his father did. Then in the meane season they that be thus destitute of seruice, either starue for hũger, or manfully play the theeues. For what would you haue them to do? When they haue wandred abroad so long, vntill they haue worne thred-bare their apparell, and also appaired their health, then gentlemen because of their pale and sickelie faces, and patched coates, wil not take them into seruice. And husbandmen dare not set them a worke: knowing well enough that hee is nothing meete to do true & faithfull seruice to a poore man with a spade and a mattoke for smal wages and hard fare, which being daintily and tenderly pampered vp in idlenesse and pleasure, was wont with a sword and a buckler by his side, to iette through the streete with a bragging looke, and to thinke himselfe to good to bee any mans mate. Nay by saint Mary sir (quoth the lawyer) not

Idlenesse the mother of theeues.

Landlords by the way checked for Rent-raising.

Of Idle seruingmen come theeues.

not so. For this kinde of men must we make most of. For in them as men of stouter stomacks, bolder spirits, and manlyer courages, then handycrafts men and ploughmen be, doth consist the whole power, strength, and puissaunce of our armie, when we must fight in battaile. For saith sir as well you might say (quoth I) that for warres sake you must cherish thæues. For surely you shall neuer lacke thæues, whiles you haue them. No nor thæues be not the most false and faint-hearted souldiours, nor souldiours bee not the cowardliest thæues: so well these two craftes agree togither. But this fault, though it be much vsed among you, yet is it not peculiar to you onelie, but common also almost to all nations. Yet Fraunce besides this is troubled & infected with a much worse plague. The whole realme is filled and besieged with hired souldiours in peace time (if that be peace) which bee brought in vnder the same colour and pretence, that hath perswaded you to keepe these vile seruingmen. For these wise-fooles and very arch-doltes thought the wealth of the whole countrey herein to consist, if there were euer in a readinesse a strong and a sure garrison, specially of old practised souldiours, for they put no trust at all in men vnexercised. And therefore they must be forced to seeke for warre, to the end they may euer haue practised souldiours, and cunning mansleiers, least that (as it is prettily saide of Salust) their hands and their minds through idlenesse or lacke of exercise, should ware dull.

Betweene souldiours and theeues small diuersitie.

But how pernitious and pestilent a thing it is, to maintaine such beastes, the Frenchmen, by their owne harmes haue learned, and the examples of the Romaines, Carthaginiens, Syriens, and of many other countries do manifestly declare. For not onelie the Empire, but also the fields and Cities of all these, by diuers occasions haue beene ouerrunne and destroyed of their owne armies before hand had in a readinesse. Now how vnnecessarie a thing this is, hereby it may appeare: that the French souldiours, which from their youth haue bin practised and inured in feates of armes,

VVhat inconueniences cõmeth by continuall garisons of souldiours.

do not cracke or aduaunce themselues to haue verie often got the vpper hand and maistry of your newe made and vnpractised souldiours. But in this poynt I will not vse many words, least perchaunce I may seeme to flatter you. No nor those same handis craft men of yours in Cities, nor yet the rude and vplandish ploughmen of the Countrey, are not supposed to be greatly affraide of your Gentlemens idle seruingmen, vnlesse it be such as be not of bodie or stature correspondent to their strength and courage, or else whose bolde stomackes be discouraged through pouertie. Thus you may see, that it is not to be feared lest they should be effeminated, if they were brought vp in good craftes and laboursome workes, whereby to gette their liuings, whose stout and sturdie bodies (for Gentlemen vouchsafe to corrupt and spill none but picked and chosen men) now either by reason of rest and idlenesse be brought to weakenesse: or else by too easie and womanly exercises be made feeble, and vnable to endure hardnesse. Truly how so euer the case standeth, this me thinketh is nothing auailable to the weale publike, for warre sake, which you neuer haue, but when you will your selues, to keepe and maintaine an vnnumerable flocke of that sort of men, that be so troublesome & noysous in peace, whereof you ought to haue a thousand times more regard, then of warre. But yet this is not onely the necessarie cause of stealing. There is another, which as I suppose, is proper and peculiar to you Englishmen alone. What is that, quoth the Cardinall: forsoth my Lord (quoth I) your sheepe that were wont to be so meeke and tame, and so small eaters, now, as I heare say, bee become so great deuourers and so wilde, that they eate vp, and swallow down the very men themselues. They consume, destroy, & deuour whole fieldes, houses and cities. For looke in what partes of the Realme doth growe the finest, and therefore dearest wooll, there noble men, and gentlemen, yea and certaine Abbots, holy men no doubt, not contenting themselues with the yearelie reuenues and profits, that were wont to grow

English sheepe deuourers of men.

to

to their forefathers and predecessours of their lands, nor beeing content that they liue in rest and pleasure nothing profiting, yea much noying the weale publique: leaue no grouñ for tillage, they inclose all into pastures: they throwe downe houses: they plucke downe townes, and leaue nothing standing, but onely the Church to be made a shéepe-house. And as though you lost no small quantitie of ground by forrestes, chases, lands, and parks, those good holy men turne all dwelling places and all glebe land into desolation, and wildernesse.

Therefore that one couetous and vnsatiable cormoraunt and very plague of his native countrey, may cõpasse about and inclose many thousand akers of ground togither within one pale or hedge, the husbandmẽ be thrust out of their own, or else either by coueine and fraude, or by violent oppression they be put besides it, or by wrongs and iniuries they be so wearied, that they be compelled to sell all: by one meanes therefore or by other, eyther by hooke or crooke they muste needes depart away, poore, selie, wretched soules, men women, husbands, wiues, fatherlesse children, widowes, wofull mothers, with their young babes, and their whole household small in substance, and much in number, as husbandrye requireth many hands.

Away they trudge, I say, out of their knowen and accustomed houses, finding no place to rest in. All their houshould stuffe, which is very little worthy, though it might well abide the sale, yet beeing sodainly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they haue wandered abroad till that be spent, what can they then else do but steale, and then iustly pardie be hanged, or else go about a begging. And yet then also they be cast into prison as vagabounds, because they goe about and worke not: whome no man will sette a worke, though they neuer so willingly proffer themselues thereto. For one sheepheard or heardman is enough to eate vp that ground with cattaile, to the occupying whereof, about husbandrye, many handes were requisite.

Sheep-maisters decayers of husbandry.

The decay of husbandry causeth beggery, which is the mother of vagabounds and theeues.

The cause of dearth of victuals.

sore. And this is also the cause why victualles be now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this the price of wolle is so risen, that poore folks, which were wont to worke it, and make cloath thereof, be now able to buy none at all. And by this meanes very many be forced to forsake worke, and to giue themselues to idlenesse.

What inconuenience commeth of dearth of woll.

For after that so much ground was inclosed for pasture, an infinit multitude of sheepe dyed of the rot, such vengeance God toke of their inordinate and vnsaciable couetousnesse, sending among the sheepe that pestiferous norrien, which much more iustly shoulde haue fallen on the sheepemasters owne heades. And though the number of sheepe increase neuer so fast, yet the price falleth not one mite, because there be so fewe sellers. For they be almost all come into a fewe rich mens handes, whome no neede forceth to sell before they lust, and they lust not before they may sell as deere as they lust. Now the same cause bringeth in like dearth of the other kindes of cattel, yea and that so much the more, because that after fermes plucked downe, and husbandry decaied, there is no man that passeth for the breeding of young store. For these rich men bring not vp the yong ones of great cattel as they do lambes.

The cause of dearth of woll.

Dearth of cattell with the cause thereof.

But first they buy them abroade verie cheape, and afterward when they be fatted in their pastures, they sell them againe exceeding deere. And therefore (as I suppose) the whole incommodity heereof is not yet felt. For yet they make dearth onely in those places, where they sell. But when they shall fetch them away from thence where they be bred fatter then they can bee bought vp: then shall there also bee felt great dearth, store beginning there to faile, where the ware is bought. Thus the vnreasonable couetousnesse of a few hath turned that thing to the vtter vndoing of your yland, in the which thing the chiefe felicitie of your realme did consist. For this great dearth of victualles causeth men to keepe as little houses, and as small hospitalitie as they possible may, and to put away their seruauntes: whither, I pray you, but

Dearth of victuals is the decay of housekeeping, whereof ensueth beggery and theft.

but a begging: or else (which these gentle blouds, and stout stomackes, will sooner set their minds vnto stealing: Now to amend the matter, to this wretched beggerie, and miserable pouerty, is ioyned great wantonnesse, importunate superfluitie, and excessiue riote. For not onely gentlemens seruaunts, but also handycraft men: yea and almost the ploughmen of the countrey, with all other sortes of people, vse much straunge and proud new-fangles in their apparel, and too much prodigall riote, and sumptuous fare at their table.

Excesse in apparell and diet a maintainer of beggerie and theft.

Now bawdes, queanes, whores, harlots, strumpets, brothelhouses, stewes, and yet an other strews, wine tauerns, ale-howses, and tipling howses, with so many naughtie, lewd, and vnlawfull games, as dice, cardes, tables, tennis, boules, coytes, do not all these send the haunters of them straight a stealing, when their money is gone? Caste out these pernicious abhominations, make a lawe, that they, which plucked downe farmes, and townes of husbandrye, shall reedifie them, or else yéeld, and vprender the possession thereof to such, as will goe to the cost of building them anewe.

Bands, whores, wine-tauerns ale-houses, and vnlawfull games be very mothers of theeues.

Sucker not these rich men to buie vp all, to ingrosse, and forestalle, and with their monopolie to keepe the market alone as please them. Let not so many bee brought vp in idlenesse, let husbandrie and tillage bee restored, let clothe working be renewed, that there may be honest labours for this idle sort to passe their time in profitablie, which hitherto eyther pouertie hath caused to be theeues, or else now be either vagabounds, or idle seruingmen, and shortly wil be theeues. Doubtlesse oneiesse you find a remedie for these enormities, you shall in vaine aduaunce your selues of executing iustice vpon fellons. For this iustice is more beautifull in appearaunce, and more glorifying to the shewe, then eyther iust or profitable. For by suffering your youth wantonlie, and vilously to be brought vp, and to be infected, euen from theyr tender age, by little and little with vice: then a goddesse

Rich men ingrossers and forestallers.

The corrupt education of youth, a mother of thecuery.

name to be punished, when they cõmit the same faults after being come to mãs state, which from their youth they were euer like to do. In this point, I pray you, what other thing do you, then make theeues, and then punish them? Now as I was thus speaking, the Lawyer began to make himselfe readie to aunswere, and was determined with himselfe to vse the common fashion, and trade of disputers, which bee more diligent in rehearsing, then answering, as thinking the memorie worthie of the chiefe praise. In deede sir, quoth he, you haue said well, being but a straunger, and one that might rather heare some thing of these matters, then haue any exact or perfect knowledge of the same, as I will incontinent by open proofe make manifest and plaine. For first I will rehearse in order all that you haue sayd: then I wil declare wherin you be deceiued, through lacke of knowledge, in all our fashions, maners and customes: and last of all I will answere your arguments, and confute them euery one. First therfore I will begin where I promised. Foure things you seemed to me. Holde your peace, quoth the Cardinall: for it appeareth that you will make no short answer, which make such a beginning. Wherefore at this time you shall not take the paynes to make your aunswere, but keepe it to your next meeting, which I woulde bee right glad, that it might be euen to morrow next, vnlesse eyther you, or maister Raphaell haue earnest let. But now maister Raphael, I would very gladly heare of you, why you thinke theft not worthie to bee punished with death, or what other punishment you can deuise more expedient to the weale-publique. For I am sure that you are not of that mind, that you would haue theft escape vnpunished. For if now the extreame punishment of death cannot cause them to leaue stealing, then if ruffins and robbers shoulde bee sure of their liues, what violence, what feare, were able to holde their handes from robbing, which would take the mittigation of the punishment, as a verie prouocation to the mischiefe? Surely my Lord, quoth I, I think it not right nor iustice, that y losse

He is worthily put to silence that is to full of words.

That theft ought not to be punished be death.

of

of money shuld cause the losse of mans life. For mine opinion is, that all the goods in the world are not able to counteruaile mans life.

But if they woulde thus saye: that the breaking of iustice, and the transgression of lawes is recompenced with this punishment, and not the losse of the money, then why maye not this extreame and rigorous iustice well bee called plaine iniurie? For so cruell gouernaunce, so straight rules, and vnmercifull lawes be not allowable, that if a small offence be committed, by and by the sword should be drawne: For so stoicall ordinaunces are to bee borne withall, as to count all offences of such equalitie, that the killing of a man or the taking of his money from him were both a matter, and the one no more heinous offēce then the other: betweēn the which two, if we haue any respect to equitie, no similitude or equalitie consisteth. God commaundeth vs that we shall not kill. And be we then so hastie to kill a man for taking a little money? And if a man woulde vnderstande killing by this commaundement of God, to bee forbidden after no larger wise, then mans constitutions define killing to be lawfull, then why maye it not likewise by mans constitutions be determined after what sort whordome, fornication, and periurie may be lawfull? For where as by the permission of God, no man neither hath power to kill neyther himselfe, nor yet any other man: then if a lawe made by the consent of men, concerning slaughter of men ought to be of such strength, force, and vertue, that they which contrary to the commaundement of God haue killed those, whome this constitution of man commaunded to be killed, be cleane quite and exempt out of the bondes and daunger of Gods commaundement: shall it not then by this reason follow, that the power of Gods commaundement shall extend no further, then mans lawe both define, and permitte? And so shall it come to passe, that in like manner, mans constitutions in all things shall determine howe farre the obseruation of all Gods commaun-

Straight lawes not allowable.

That mans law ought not to be preiudiciall to gods law.

dements shall extend. To bee short, Moyses law, though it were vngentle and sharpe, as a law that was giuen to bōdmen, yea, and them very obstinate, stubborn, and stifnecked: yet it punished theft by the purse, and not with death. And let vs not thinke that God in the new law of clemencie and mercie, vnder the which hee ruleth vs with fatherly gentlenesse, as his deere children hath giuen vs greater scope and licence to the execution of crueltie, one vpon another. Now ye haue heard the reasons, whereby I am perswaded, that this punishment is vnlawfull. Furthermore I thinke there is no body that knoweth not, how vnreasonable, yea, how pernitious a thing it is to the weale-publique, that a theefe and an homicide or murderer, should suffer equall and like punishment. For the theefe seeing that man, that is condemned for theft in no lesse ieopardie, nor iudged to no lesse punishmēt, then him that is conuict of manslaughter: through this cogitation onelie he is stronglie and forciblie prouoked, and in a maner constrained to kill him, whom else he would haue but robbed. For the murder being once done, he is in lesse feare, and in more hope that the deede shall not be bewrayed or knowne, seeing the partie is now dead, and rid out of the way, which onely might haue vttered and disclosed it.

Theft in the old law not punished by death.

VVhat inconuenience ensueth of punishing theft with death.

Punishing of theft by death causeth the theft to be a murtherer.

But if he chaunce to bee taken and discried: yet he is in no more daunger and ieoperdie, then if hee had committed but single fellonie. Therefore whiles we go about with such crueltie to make theeues afraid, we prouoke them to kil good men. Now as touching this question, what punishment were more commodious and better: that trulie in my iudgement is easier to be found, then what punishment might be worse. For why shoulde we doubt that to bee a good and a profitable way for the punishment of offendors, which wee know did in times past so long please the Romaines, men in the administration of a weale publique most expert, politique, and cunning? Such as among them were conuict of great and heynous trespasses, them they condemne into

VVhat lawfull punishment may be deuised for theft. How the Romoines punished theft.

stone

stone quarries, and into mines to digge mettale, there to be kept in chaines all the daies of their life. But as concerning this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no nation so well as that which I sawe, whiles I trauailed abroade about the world, vsed in Persia among the people that commonly bee called the Polylerites. Whose lande is both large and ample, and also well and wittilye gouerned: and the people in all conditions free and ruled by theyr owne lawes, sauing that they paye a yéerelye tribute to the great King of Persia.

A worthie and commendable punishment of theeues in the weal-publique of the Polilerites in Persia.

But because they bee farre from the sea, compassed and inclosed, almost round about with high mountaines, and bee content themselues with the fruites of their owne lande, which is of it selfe verie fertile and fruitfull: for this cause neither they go to other countries, nor other come to them. And according to the old custome of the Lande, they desire not to enlarge the boundes of their dominions: and those that they haue, by reason of the high hills be easily defended: and the tribute which they pay to their chiefe lord and king, setteth them quite and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather then gallant, and may better bee called happie or welthie, then notable and famous. For they be not knowne, asmuch as by name, I suppose sauing onely to their next neighbours and borders. They that in this land be attainted and conuict of fellonie, make restitution of that which they stole, to the right owner: and not (as they bee in other lands) to the King: whom they think to haue no more right to the theefe stolen thing, then the theefe himselfe hath. But if the thing be lost or made away, then the value of it is paide of the goods of such offenders, which else remaineth all whole to their wiues, and children. And they themselues be condemned to be common labourers, and, onelye the theft be verie heinous, they be neither locked in prison, nor fettered in gifts, but be vntied and goe at large, labouring in the common workes. They that refuse labour, or go slowly and slacklie to their worke, be not onely tyed in chaines, but also

A priuie nippe for them that do otherwise.

Theeues condemned to be common labourers.

prickes forward with stripes. But being diligent about their worke they liue without checke or rebuke. Euery night they be called in by name, and be locked in their chambers. Beside their dayly labour, their life is nothing hard or incommodious, their fare is indifferent good, borne at the charges of the weale publique, because they be commõ seruants to the common wealth. But their charges in all places of the land is not borne a like. For in some partes that which is bestowed vpon them is gathered of almes. And though that way be vncertaine, yet the people bee so full of mercie and pittie, that none is found more profitable or plentifull. In some places certaine ladies bee appointed hereunto: of the reuenewes whereof they be maintained. And in some places euery man giueth a certaine tribute for the same vse and purpose.

Againe in some parts of the land these seruingmen (for
Seruing mẽ. so be these damned persons called) do not common work, but as euery priuat man needeth labourers, so he commeth into the market place, and there hireth some of them for meate and drinke, and a certaine limitted wages by the day, somwhat cheaper then he should hire a free man. It is also lawfull for them to chastice the slouth of these seruingmen with stripes. By this meanes they neuer lacke worke, and besides the gayning of their meate and drinke, euerye one of them bringeth daylie something into the common treasury. Al and euery one of them be apparelled in one colour. Their heads bee not polled or shauen, but rounded a litle aboue the eares. And the tip of the one eare is cut off. Euerye one of them may take meate and drinke of their frendes, and also a coate of their owne colour: but to receiue money is death, aswell to the giuer, as to the receiuer. And no lesse ieopardie it is for a free man to receiue money of a seruing man for any maner of cause: and likewise for seruing men to touche weapons. The seruing mẽ of euery seuerall shire be distinct and knowen from other, by their seueral and distinct badges: which to cast away is death: as it is also to be seene out of

the

the precincte of their owne shire, or to talke with a seruingman of another shire. And it is no lesse daunger to them, for to intend to runne away, then to doo it indeede. Yea and to conceale such an enterprise in a seruingman it is death, in a free man seruitude. Of the cõtrary part, to him that openeth and vttereth such counsailes, bee decreede large gifts: to a free man a great summe of money, to a seruingmã freedome: and to them both forgiuenesse and pardon of that they were of counsaile in that pretence. So that it can neuer be so good for them to goe forward in their euill purpose, as by repentance to turne backe. This is the lawe and order in this behalfe, as I haue shewed you. Wherein what humanitie is vsed, how far it is from crueltie, and how commodious it is, you doo plainly perceiue. For as much as the ende of their wrath and punishment intendeth nothing else, but the destruction of vices, and sauing of men: with so vsing, and ordering them, that they cannot chuse but be good, and what harme soeuer they did before, in the residue of their life to make amends for the same.

An euill intent esteemed as the deede

The right end and intent of punishment.

Moreouer it is so little feared, that they shoulde turne againe to their vicious conditions, that waylering men will for their safeguard chuse them to their guides before anye other, in euery theire changing and taking new. For if they wold commit robberie, they haue nothing about them mete for that purpose. They may touch no weapons: money founde about them shoulde betraye the robberie. They should be no sooner taken with the manner, but forthwith they should be punished. Neyther they can haue any hope at all to scape away by flying. For how should a man, that in no part of his apparell is like other men, flye priuilie and vnknowne, vnlesse hee woulde runne awaye naked? Howbeit, so also flying, hee shoulde bee discried by the rounding of his heade, and his eare marke. But it is a thing to bee doubted, that they will laye their heads togither, and conspire against the weale publique. No, no, I warrant you. For the seruingmen of one shiere alone

alone could neuer hope to bring to passe such an enterprise, without soliciting, entysing, and alluring the seruingmen of manie other shieres to take their partes. Which thing is to them so impossible, that they may not asmuch as speake or talke togither, or salute one another. No it is not to be thought that they would make theyr owne countreymen and companions of their counsaile in such a matter, which they knowe well should be ieopardie to the concealor therof, and great commoditie and goodnes to the opener and detectour of the same. Where as on the other part, there is none of them all hopeless or in dispaire to recouer againe his former estate of freedome, by humble obedience by pacient suffering, and by giuing good tokens and likelyhode of himselfe, that he will euer after that, liue like a true, and an honest man.

For euery yeare diuers of them bee restored to their freedome: through the commendation of patience. When I had thus spoken, saying moreouer, that I could see no cause why this order might not be hadde in England, with much more profit, then the Justice which the lawyer so highlye praysed. Nay, quoth the lawyer, this could neuer be so stablished in England, but that it must needs bring the weale like into great ieoperdie and hazard. And as he was thus saying, he shaked his heade, and made a wrie mouth, and so he held his peace. And all that were present, with one assent agreed to his saying. Well, quoth the Cardinall, yet it were hard to iudge without a proofe, whether this order would do well heere or no. But when the sentence of death is giuen, if then the king should command execution to be referred and spared, and would proue this order and fashion, taking away the priuiledges of sanctuaries: if then the proofe should declare the thing to be good and profitable, then it were well done that it were stablished: Else then condemned and reprieued persons may as well and as iustly be put to death after this proofe, as when they were first cast. Neither any ieoperdie can in the meane space grow

hereof.

hereof. Yea, and mée thinketh that these vagabounds may very well be ordered after the same fashion, against whome we haue hitherto made so many lawes, and so little preuailed. When the Cardinall had thus said, thē euery man gaue great praise to my sayings, which a litle before they had disallowed. But most of all was estéemed that which was spoken of vagabounds, because it was the Cardinalls addition. I cannot tell whether it were best to rehearse the communication that followed, for it was not very sadde. But yet you shall heare it, for there was no euill in it, and partly it pertained to the matter before said. There chaunced to stand by a certaine iesting parasite, or scoffer, which would séeme to resemble and counterfeit the fole. But hee did in suth wise coūterfeit, that he was almost the very same indéed that he labored to represent: he so studied with words and sayings brought forth so out of time and place to make sport and more laughter, that he himselfe was oftner laughed at, then his iests were. Yet the foolish fellow brought out now and then such indifferent and reasonable stuffe, that he made the prouerbe true, which saith: He that shooteth oft, at the last shall hit the marke. So that when one of the company sayd, that through my communication a good order was found for theeues, and that the Cardinall also had well prouided for vagabouds, so that onely remained some good prouision to bee made for them that through sickenesse and age were fallen into pouerty, and were become so impotent and vnweldie, that they were not able to worke for their liuing. Tush (quoth he) let me alone with them: you shall see me dō well enough with them. For I had rather then any good, that this kinde of people were driuen somewhere out of my sight, they haue so sore troubled me many times and ofte, when they haue with their lamentable teares begged mony of me: and yet they coulde neuer to my mind so tune their song, that therby they euer got of me one farthing. For euer more the one of these chaunced: either that I would not, or else that I could not, because I had it not. Therefore now

Vagabouds.

The wauering iudgements of flatterers.

Sicke, aged, impotent persons and beggers.

they be wared wise. For when they see me go by, because they will not leese their labour, they let me passe and say not one word to me. So they loke for nothing of me, no in good soth, no more, then if I were a Priest, or a Monke. But I will make a lawe, that all these beggers shalbe distributed, and bestowed into houses of religiō. The men shalbe made laye brethren, as they call them, and the women Nunnes. Heere at the Cardinall smiled, and allowed it in iest, yea and all the residue in good earnest.

A common prouerbe among beggers.

But a certaine frier graduate in diuinitie, toke such pleasure and delight in this iestes of Priests and Monks, that he also beeing else a man of grille and sterne grauitie, began merrily and wantonly to iest and taunt. Nay, quoth he, you shall not so be rid and dispatched of beggers, vnlesse you make some prouision also for vs friers. Why, quoth the iester, that is done alreadie, for my Lord himselfe set a very good order for you, when hee decréede that vagabounes should be kept straight, and set to worke: for you be ỹ greatest and veriest vagabounes that be. This iest also, when they sawe the Cardinall not disprooue it, euery man toke it gladly, sauing onely the frier. For he (and that no meruaile) being thus touched on the quicke, and hit on the gaule, so fretted, so fumed, and chafed at it, & was in such a rage, that he could not refraine himselfe from chiding, scolding, railing, and reuiling. He called the fellow ribbald, villaine, iauell, backbiter, sclaunderer, and the child of perdition: citing therewith tirribble threatnings out of holy scripture. Then the iesting scoffer began to play the scoffer indéede, and verily he was good at that, for he could play a part in that play no man better. Pacient your selfe good maister Frier, quoth he, and be not angry, for scripture saith: in your patience you shall saue your soules. Then the Frier (for I will rehearse his owne very words.) No gallous wretch, I am not angrie (quoth he) or at the least wise, I doo not sinne, for the Psalmist saith, Be you angry, and sin not. Then the Cardinal spake gently to the frier, & desired him to quiet himselfe.

A merry talke betweene a Frier and a foole.

Talke qualified according to the person that speaketh.

No

No my Lord, quoth he, I speake not but of a good zeale as I ought: for holy men had a good zeale. Wherefore it is sayd: The zeale of thy house hath eaten me. And it is sung in the Church. The scorners of Helizeus, whiles he went vp into the house of God, felt the zeale of the bald, as paraduenture this scorning villaine ribauld shall feele. You doo it (quoth the Cardinall) perchaunce of a good mind and affection: but me thinketh you should doo, I cannot tell whether more hollie, certes more wisely, if you woulde not set your wit to a fooles wit, and with a foole take in hand a foolish cõtention. No forsoth my Lord (quoth hee) I shoulde not doo more wiselie. For Salomon the wise saith: Answer a foole according to his follie, like as I doo now, and doo shew him the pit that he shall fall into, if he take not hæd. For if many scorners of Helizeus, which was but one bald man, felt the zeale of the bald, how much more shall one scorner of many friers feele, among whom be many bald men? And we haue also the Popes bulles, whereby all that mocke and scorne vs bee excommunicate, suspended, and accursed. The Cardinall, seeing that no ende woulde bee made, sent away the ieaster by a priuie becke, and turned the communication to an other matter. Shortly after, when he was risen from the table, hee went to heare his suters, and so dismissed vs. Loke maister More, with howe long and tedious a tale I haue kept you, which surely I would haue bẽn ashamed to haue don, but that you so earnestly desired me, and did after such a sort giue eare vnto it, as though you would not that any parcell of that communication shuld be left out. Which though I haue don somewhat briefly, yet could I not chose but rehearse it, for the iudgement of them, which when they had improued and disallowed my sayings, yet incontinent hearing the Cardinall allowe them, did themselues also approue the same: so impudently flattering him, that they were nothing ashamed to admit, yea almost in good earnest, his ieastures & foolish inuentions: because ỹ he himselfe by smiling at thẽ, did seeme not to disprooue thẽ. So that

hereby you may rightwel perceiue how little the courtiers would regard and esteeme me and my sayings. I ensure you maister Raphaell, quoth I, I toke great delectation in hearing you: al things that you said, were spoken so wittily and so pleasantly. And me thought me selfe to bee in the meane time, not onely at home in my Countrey, but also through the pleasaunt remembraunce of the Cardinall, in whose house I was brought vp of a childe, to ware a childe againe. And frend Raphaell, though I did bare verie great loue towards you before, yet seeing you do so earnestly fauour this man, you will not beleeue how much my loue towards you is now increased. But yet, all this notwithstanding, I can by no meanes chaunge my mind, but that I must nedes beleeue, that you, if you be disposed, and can finde in your hart to follow some Princes Court, shall with your good counsailes greatly help and further the common wealth. Wherfore there is nothing more appertaining to your dutie, that is to say, to the dutie of a good man. For where as your Plato iudgeth that weale publiques shall by this means attaine perfect felicitie, eyther if philosophers be Kings, or else if Kings giue themselues to the studie of Philosophie, how far I pray you, shall common wealthes then be from this felicitie, if Philosophers will vouchsafe to instruct Kings with their good counsaile? They be not so vnkind (quoth he) but they would gladly do it, yea, many haue done it alreadie in bookes that they haue put forth, if Kings and Princes wold be willing and readie to follow good counsaile. But Plato doubtlesse did well foresee, vnlesse Kings themselues would applye their mindes to the studie of Philosophie, that else they would neuer thoroughly allow the counsaile of Philosophers, beeing themselues before euen from their tender age infected, and corrupt with peruerse, and euill opinions. Which thing Plato himselfe proued true in king Dyonise. If I shoulde propose to any King wholsome decrees, doing my endeuour to plucke out of his mind the pernicious origi-

mall causes of vice and noughtinesse, thinke you not that I should forthwith either be driuē away, or else made a laughing stocke? Well suppose I were with the French King, and there sitting in his counsaile, whiles in that most secret consultation, the King himselfe there being present in his owne person, they beate their braines, and search the verie bottomes of their wits, to discusse by what craft & meanes the King may still keepe Millaine, and drawe to him again fugitiue Naples: And then how to conquer the Venetians, and how to bring vnder his iurisdiction all Italie, then how to win the dominion of Flaunders, Brabant, and all Burgundie: with diuers other landes, whose kingdomes hee hath long ago in mind and purpose inuaded. Heere whiles one counsailleth to conclude a league of peace with the Venetians, so long to endure, as shall be thought meete and expedient for their purpose, and to make them also of their counsell, yea, and besides that, to giue them part of the pray, which afterward, when they haue brought their purpose about after their owne mindes, they may require and clayme againe. Another thinketh best to hyre the Germaynes. An other woulde haue the fauour of the Swychers wonne with money. An others aduise is to appease the puissaunte power of the Emperoures Maiestie with Golde, as with a most pleasaunt, and acceptable sacrifice. Whyles an other giueth counsaile to make peace with the King of Arragon, and to restore vnto him his owne kingdome of Nauarra, as a full assuraunce of peace. An other commeth in with his fiue egges, and aduiseth to hooke in the King of Castile with some hope of affinitie or allyaunce, and to bring to their part, certain Peers of his court for great pensions.

The french men priuily be counsailed from the desire of Italie.

Launce knights.

Whyles they all staye at the chiefest doubt of all, what to do in the meane time with England, and yet agrée all in this, to make peace with the Englishmen, and with most sure and strong bands to binde that weake and feeble friendship, so that they must be called frendes, and

had in suspicion as enemies. And that therefore the Scots must be had in a readinesse, as it were in a standing, readie at all occasions, in aunters the Englishmen shoulde sturre neuer so little, incontinent to set vpon them. And moreouer priuilye and secretlye (for openlye it maye not be doone by the truce that is taken) priuilye therefore I say, to make much of some Peere of England, that is banished his Countrey, which must claime title to the Crowne of the Realme, and affirme himselfe iust inheritoure thereof: that by this subtill meanes they maye holde to them the King, in whome else they haue but small trust and affiaunce.

Here I say, where so great and high matters bee in consultation, where so many noble and wise men counsaile their King onelye to warre, here if I selie man shoulde rise vp and will them to turne ouer the leafe, and learne a new lesson, saying, that my counsaile is not to meddle with Italie, but to tarrye still at home, and that the kingdome of Fraunce alone is almost greater, then that it maye well bee gouerned of one man: so that the King shoulde not neede to studie howe to gette more: And then shoulde propose vnto them, the decrees of the people that bee called the Achorians, which bee situate ouer against the Iland of Vtopia, on the Southeast side. These Achorians once made warre in their Kings quarrell for to get him another kingdome, which hee laid claime vnto, and aduaunced himselfe right inheritour to the Crowne thereof, by the tytle of an olde aliaunce. At the last when they had gotten it, and sawe that they had euen as much veration and trouble in keeping it, as they had in getting it, and that eyther their newe conquered subiectes by sundrye occasions were making daylye insurrections to rebell against them, or else that other countries were continually with diuers inrodes and foreraignes inuading them: so that they were euer fighting eyther for them, or against them, and neuer coulde breake vppe their Campes: Seeing

A notable example and worthy to be followed.

them.

themselues in the meane season pilled and impouerished: their money caried out of the Realme: their owne men killed to maintain the glorie of an other nation: when they had no warre, peace nothing better then warre, by reason that they? people in warre, had so inured themselues to corrupt and wicked maners: that they had taken a delight and pleasure in robbing and stealing: that through manslaughter they hadde gathered boldnesse to mischiefe: that they? lawes were had in contempt, and nothing sette by, or regarded: that their King being troubled with the charge and gouernaunce of two Kingdome, coulde not, nor was not able perfectlie to discharge his office towardes them both: seeing againe, that al these euils and troubles were endlesse: at the last layde they? heads togither, and like faithfull and louing subiectes gaue to they? King free choise and libertie to keepe still the one of these two Kingdomes whether hee would: alleaging that he was not able to keepe both, and that they were mo then might well bee gouerned of halfe a King: for as much as no man would be content to take him for his mulettour, that keepeth an other mans moyles besides his.

So this good Prince was constrayned to be content with his old Kingdome, and to giue ouer the new to one of his frendes. Who shortly after was violently driuen out. Furthermore if I should declare vnto them, that all this busie preparance to warre, whereby so many nations for his sake should be brought into a troublesome hurlie-burlie, when al his cofers were emptied, his treasures wasted, and his people destroied, should at the length through some mischance be in vaine and to none effect: and that therefore it were best for him to content himselfe with his owne kingdome of France, as his forefathers and predecessors did before him: to make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as florishing as he could: to endeuour himselfe to loue his subiects, and again to be beloued of thē, willingly to liue with thē, peaceably to gouern them, & with other kingdoms not to meddle,

seeing

seeing that which he hath alreadie is euen enough for him, yea and more then hee can well turne himto: this mine aduise maister Moore, how think you, would it not be hardly taken? So God helpe mee, not verye thankfullye quoth I: Well let vs proceede then, quoth he. Suppose that some King and his counsaile were togither, whetting their wits, and deuising what subtile craft they might inuent, to enrich the King with great treasures of mony. First one counselleth to rayse and enhaunce the valuation of mony when the King must pay any: and againe to call downe the value of coyne to lesse then it is worth, when he must receiue or gather any.

Enhancing and embasing of coynes.

For thus great summes shalbe payd with a little money, and where little is due much shalbe receiued. An other counselleth to fayne warre, that when vnder this coloure and pretence the king hath gathered great aboundaunce of money, hee may, when it shall please him, make peace with great solemnitie, and holy ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore communaltie, as taking pittie and compassion forlorth vppon mans bloude, like a louing and a mercifull Prince. An other putteth the King in remembraunce of certaine olde and moath eaten lawes, that of long time haue not beene put in execution, which because no man can remember that they were made, euery man hath transgressed. The fines of these lawes he counselleth the king to require: for there is no way so profitable, nor more honourable, as that which hath a shewe and colour of iustice. An other aduiseth him to forbid many things vnder great penalties and fines, speciallie such things as is for the peoples profit not bee vsed, and afterward to dispence for money with them, which by this prohibition, sufferyne losse and dammage.

Counterfeit warres.

The renewing of old lawes.

Restraints.

For by this meanes the fauour of the people is wonne, and profit riseth two wayes. First by taking forfets of them, whome couetousnesse of gaynes hath brought in daunger of this statute, and also by selling pruiledges and licences,

licences, which the better that the Prince is forsoth, the dearer he selleth them: as one that is loth to graunt to anye priuate person anye thing that is against the profit of his people. Selling of licences.

And therfore may set none but at an exceeding deare price. An other giueth ỳ King counsaile to endanger vnto his grace the iudges of the Realme, that hee may haue them euer on his side, and that they may in euery matter dispute and reason for the Kings right. Yea, and further to call them into his Pallace, and to require them, there to argue and discusse his matters in his owne presence. So there shalbe no matter of his so openly wrong and vniust, wherein one or other of them, either because hee will haue some thing to alleage and obiect, or that he is ashamed to saye that which is sayde alreadie, or else to picke a thanke with his prince, will not finde some hole open to sette a snare in, wherewith to take the contrarie part in a trip. Thus whiles the iudges cannot agree amongst themselues, reasoning and arguing of that which is plaine enough, and bringing the manifest truth in doubt: in the meane season, the king may take a fit occasion to vnderstand the law as shall most make for his aduantage, whereunto all other for shame, or for feare, will agree. Then the Iudges may bee bolde to pronounce on the kings side. For he that giueth sentence for the king, cannot be without a good excuse. For it shal be sufficient for him to haue equitie on his part, or the beare words of the lawe, or a wrythen and wrested vnderstanding of the same (or else, which with good and iust Iudges is of greater force then al lawes be) the kings indisputable prerogatiue. To conclude, al the counsellours agree and consent togither with the rich Crassus, that no aboundance of golde can bee sufficient for a Prince, which must keepe and mayntayne an Armie: furthermore that a king, though he would, can doe nothing vniustlye. The saying of Rich Crassus.

For all that men haue, yea also the men themselues be al his. And that euery man hath so much of his owne, as the

kings gentlenesse hath not taken from him. And that it shal be most for the Kings aduantage, that his subiects haue very little or nothing in their possession, as whose safegarde doth herein consist, that hs people do not ware wanton and wealthie through riches and libertie, because where these things bee, there men bee not wont patientlie to obey hard, vniust, and vnlawfull commaundements. Where as on the other parte, neede and peuertie doth holde downe and keepe vnder stoute courages, and maketh them patient perforce, taking from them bolde and rebelling stomacks.

Heere againe if I shoulde rise vp, and boldlie affirme, that all these counsailes bee to the King dishonour and reproache, whose honour and safetie is more and rather supported and vpholden by the wealth and riches of his people, then by his owne treasures: and if I should declare that the communaltie chooseth their King for their owne sake, and not for his sake: to the intent, that through his labour & studie they might all liue wealthilie safe from wrongs and iniuries: and that therefore the King ought to take more care for the wealth of his people, then for his owne wealth, euen as the office and dutie of a shepheard is in that he is a shepheard, to feede his sheepe rather then himselfe. For as touching this, that they thinke the defence and maintenaunce of peace to consist in the pouertie of the people, the thing it selfe sheweth that they be farre out of the way. For where shall a man finde more wrangling, quarrelling, brawling and chiding, then among beggers? Who be more desirous of newe mutations and alterations, then they that bee not content with the present state of their life? Or finallie, who be bolder stomaked to bring all in a hurlie-burlie (thereby trusting to get some windfall) then they that haue now nothing to leese? And if any King were so finally regarde, and so lightlye esteemed, yea, so be hated of his subiects, that other waies hee could not keepe them in awe, but onelye by open wrongs, by polling and shauing, and by bringing them

Pouertie the mother of debate and decay of Realmes.

them to beggerie, surelie it were better for him to forsake his kingdome, then to holde it by this meanes: whereby though the name of a king be kept, yet the Maiestie is lost. For it is against the dignitie of a king to haue rule ouer beggers, but rather ouer rich and wealthie men. Of this mind was the hardy and couragious Fabrice, when he said, that he had rather be a ruler of rich men, then be rich himself. A worthie saying of Fabrice.

And verilie, one man to liue in pleasure and wealth, whiles all other weepe and smart for it, that is the part, not of a king, but of a Jaylour. To be short, as he is a foolish Physitian, that cannot cure his Patients disease, vnlesse hee cast him in an other sickenesse, so he that cannot amend the liues of his subiects, but by taking from them the wealth and commoditie of life, he must needs graunt, that he knoweth not the wealth and commoditie of life, hee must needes graunt, that he knoweth not the feate how to gouern men. But let him rather amend his owne life, renounce vnhonest pleasures, and forsake pride. For these be the chiefe vices that cause him to runne in the contempt or hatred of his people. Let him liue of his owne, hurting no man. Let him bestow cost not aboue his power. Let him restraine wickednesse. Let him preuent vices, and take away the occasions of offences by well ordering his subiects, and not by suffering wickednesse to encrease, afterward to be punished. Let him not be too hastie in calling againe lawes, which a custome hath abrogated: specially such as haue bene long forgotten, and neuer lacked nor needed. And let him neuer vnder the cloake and pretence of transgression, take such fines and forfeytes, as no Judge will suffer a priuate person to take, as vniust and full of guile. Here if I should bring forth before them the lawe of the Macariens, which be not farre distaunt from Vtopia, whose king, the day of his coronation is bounde by a solemne oathe, that he shall neuer at any time haue in his treasure aboue a thousand pound of Golde or Siluer. They say that a verye good king, which toke farre more care for the wealth and commoditie A strange and notable lawe of the Macariens.

of his countrey, then for the enriching of himselfe, made this lawe to bee a stop and a barre to kings from heaping and whording vp so much money as might impouerish their people. For he forelawe that this sum of treasure would suffice to support the King in battaile against his own people, if they shoulde chaunce to rebell: and also to maintaine his warres, against the inuasions of his foraigne enemies. Againe hee perceiued the same stocke of mony to be too litle and vnsufficient to encourage and enable him wrongfullye to take away other mens goods: which was the chiefe cause why the lawe was made. Another cause was this. Hee thought that by this prouision his people shoulde not lacke money, wherewith to maintaine their daylie occupying and chaffare.

And seeing the King coulde not chose but laye out and bestow al that came in aboue the prescript sum of his stocke, he thought he would seeke no occasions to do his subiectes iniurie. Such a King shalbe feared of euill men, and loued of good men. These, and such other informations, if I should vse among men wholie inclined and giuen to the contrarye part, how deafe eares thinke you shoulde I haue? Deafe hearers doubtlesse (quoth I) And in good faith no meruaile. And to be plaine with you, trulie I cannot allowe that such communication shalbe vsed, or such counsell giuen, as you be sure shall neuer be regarded nor receiued. For how can so straunge informations be profitable, or how can they bee beaten into their heads, whose mindes be alreadie preuented, with cleane contrarie perswasions? This schole Philosophie is not vnpleasaunt among frendes in familiare communication, but in the the counsailes of Kings, where great matters be debated and reasoned with great authoritie, these things haue no place.

Schoole philosophie in the consultations of Princes hath no place.

That is it which I ment (quoth he) when I said Philosophie had no place among Kings. Indeede (quoth I) this schole Philosophie hath not: which thinketh all things meet for euery place. But there is another Philosophie more

ciuile,

ciuile, which knoweth, as ye would say, her owne stage, and thereafter ordering and behauing her selfe in the playe that she hath in hand, playeth her part accordingly with comelinesse, vttering nothing out of due order and fashion. And this is the Philosophie that you must vse. Or else whiles a commoditie of Plautus is playing, and the vile bondmen scoffing and trifleling among themselues, if you should sodainly come vpon the stage in a Philosophers apparell, and rehearse out of Octauia the place wherein Seneca disputeth with Nero: hadde it not beene better for you to haue played the dumme person, then by rehearsing that, which serued neither for the time nor place to haue made such a tragicall comedie or gallimalfrye? For by bringing in other stuffe that nothing appertaineth to the present matter, you must needes marrie and preuent the play that is in hand, though the stuffe that you bring be much better. What part so euer you haue taken vpon you, play that as well as you can and make the best of it: And do not therefore disturbe and bring out of order the whole matter, because that another, which is merrier and better commeth to your remembraunce.

A fine and a fit similitude.

A dumme plaier.

So the case standeth in a common-wealth: and so it is in the consultations of Kings and Princes. If euil opinions and naughtie perswasions cannot be vtterly and quite plucked out of their hearts, if you cannot euen as you would remedie vices, which vse and custome hath confirmed: yet for this cause you must not leaue and forsake the common-wealth: you must not forsake the ship in a tempest, because you cannot rule and keepe downe the windes. No nor you must not labour to driue into their heads new and straunge informations, which you knowe well shalbe nothing regarded with them that be of cleane contrarie mindes. But you must with a craftie wile and a subtill trayne studie and endeuour your selfe, as much as in you lyeth, to handle the matter wittilie and handsomelye for the purpose, and that which you cannot turne to good, so to order it that it bee not

verie bad. For it is not possible for all things to be well, vnlesse all men were good. Which I thinke will not bee yet these good many yeeres. By this meanes (quoth he) nothing else will be brought to passe, but whiles that I goe about to remedie the madnesse of others, I shoulde bee euen as mad as they. For if I would speake things that be true, I must needes speake such things: but as for to speake false things, whether that be a Philosophers part or no I cannot tell, truelie it is not my part. Howbeit this communication of mine, though peraduenture it may seeme vnpleasant to them, yet can I not see why it should seeme straunge, or foolishly new fangled. If so be that I should speake those things that Plato fayneth in his weale publique, or that the Vtopians do in theirs, these things though they were (as they be indeede) better, yet they might seeme spoken out of place. For as much as heere amongst vs euerie man hath his possessions seuerall to himselfe, and there all things bee common.

The Vtopian weale-publique.

But what was in my communication conteined, that might not, and ought not in any place to bee spoken: Hauing that to them which haue throughlie decreede and determined with themselues to runne headlong on the contrarie way, it cannot bee acceptable and pleasant, because it calleth them backe, and sheweth them the ieoperdies. Verilie if all things that euill and vitious manners haue caused to seeme vnconuenient and nought should be refused, as things vnmeet and reproachful, then we must among Christen people winke at the most part of all those things, which Christ taught vs, & so straightly forbad them to bee winked at, that those things also which he whispered in the eares of his disciples, he cõmanded to be proclaimed in open houses. And yet the most part of them is more dissident frõ the maners of the world now a daies, then my cõmunication was. But preachers slie and wilie men following your counsaile (as I suppose) because they saw men euil willing to frame their maners to Christes rule, they haue wrested and wried

his

his doctrine, and like a rule of leade haue applyed it to mens maners: that by some meanes at the least way, they might agree togither. Whereby I cannot see what good they haue done: but that men may more sickerlie be euill. And I trulie should preuaile euen as little in kings counsailes. For eyther I must say otherwaies then they say, and then I were as good to say nothing, or else I must say the same that they say, and (as Micio saith in Terence) helpe to further their madnesse. For that craftie wyle and subtill traine of yours, I cannot perceiue to what purpose it serueth, wherewith you would haue me to studie and endeuour my selfe, if all things cannot bee made good, yet to handle them wittily and handsomelie for the purpose, that as farre forth as is possible, they may not bee very euill. For there is no place to dissemble in, nor to winke in. Noughtie counsailes must bee openly allowed, and verie pestilent decrees must bee approued.

He shall be counted worse then a spie, yea almost as euill as a Traytour, that with a faint heart doth prayse euill and noysome decrees. Moreouer a man can haue no occasion to doo good, chaunsing into the companie of them, which will sooner peruert a good man then bee made good themselues: through whose euill companie he shall be mared, or else if he remaine good and innocent, yet the wickednesse and follie of others shall bee imputed to him, and layde in his necke. So that it is impossible with that craftie wyle, and subtill trayne to turne any thing to better. Wherefore Plato by a goodlie similitude declareth, why wise men refraine to meddle in the common-wealth. For when they see the people swarme into the streetes, and daylie wet to the skin with rayne, and yet cannot perswade them to goe out of the rayne, and to take their house, knowing well, that if they shoulde goe out to them, they shoulde nothing preuayle, nor win ought by it, but with them bee wet also in the rayne, they doo keepe themselues within their houses, being content that they be safe themselues, seeing they

cannot

cannot remedie the follie of the people. Yow be it doubtlesse maister More (to speake trulie as my minde giueth mee) where possessions be priuate, where money beareth all the stroke, it is hard and almost impossible that there the weale-publique may iustlye be gouerned, and prosperoully florish. Vnlesse you thinke thus: that Justice is there executed, where all things come into the hands of euill men, or that prosperitie there florisheth, where all is diuided among a fewe: which fewe neuertheleſſe do not leade their liues very wealthelie, and the residue liue miserably, wretchedlie, and beggerlie.

Wherefore when I consider with my selfe, and weye in my minde, the wise and godlie ordinaunces of the Vtopians, among whome with verie fewe lawes all things bee so well and wealthilie ordered, that vertue is had in a price and estimation, and yet all things beeing there common, euerie man hath aboundance of euerie thing. Againe on the other part, when I compare with them so manie nations euer making newe lawes, yet none of them all well and sufficientlie furnished with lawes: where euerie man calleth that hee hath gotten, his owne proper and priuate goods, where so manie newe lawes daylie made, bee not sufficient for euerie man to enioye, defend, and knowe from an other mans that which he calleth his owne: which thing the infinit controuersies in the lawe, daylie rising, neuer to be ended, plainlie declare to be true. These things (I say) when I consider with my selfe, I holde well with Plato, and do nothing meruaile, that hee woulde make no lawes for them, that refused those lawes, whereby all men should haue and enioy equal portions of wealthes and commodities.

Plato wil led all things in a common-wealth to be common.

For the wise man did easilie foresee, this to bee the one and onelie way to the wealth of a communaltie, if equalitie of all things should be brought in and stablished. Which I thinke is not possible to be obserued, where euerie mans goods be proper and peculiar to himselfe. For where euerie man

man vnder certaine tytles and pretences draweth and plucketh to himselfe as much as he can, so that a fewe diuids among themselues all the whole riches, be there neuer so much aboundance and store, there to the residue is left lacke and pouertie.

And for the most part it chaunceth, that this latter sorte is more worthie to enioy that state of wealth, then the other bee: because the rich men be couetous, craftie, and vnprofitable. On the other part, the poore be lowlie, simple, and by their daylie labour, more profitable to the commonwealth then to themselues. Thus I do fullie perswade my selfe, that no equall and iust distribution of things can bee made, nor that perfect wealth shall euer be among men, vnlesse this proprietie be exiled and banished. But so long as it shall continue, so long shall remaine among the most and best part of men, the heauie and ineuitable burden of pouertie and wretchednesse. Which, as I graunt that it may bee somewhat eased, so I vtterlie denie that it can wholy be taken away. For if there were a statute made, that no man should haue in his stocke aboue a prescript and appointed summe of money: if it were by certaine lawes decréed, that neither the king shuld be of too great power, neither the people too hautie and wealthie, and that offices shoulde not bee obteined by inordinate sute, or by brybes and gifts: that they should neither be bought nor sold, nor that it should be needfull for the officers, to bee at any cost or charge in their offices: for so occasion is giuen to them by fraude and rauin to gather vp their money againe, and by reason of gifts and bribes, the offices be giuen to rich men, which should rather haue beene executed of wise men: by such lawes I say, like as sike bodies that be desperat and past cure, be wont with continuall good cherishing to bee kept and botched vp for a time: so these euils also might bee lightned and mittigated. But that they may be perfectlie cured, brought to a good and vpright state, it is not to be hoped for, whiles euery man is maister of his owne to himselfe. Yea and whiles you goe

about to do your cure of one part, you shal make bigger the sore of another parte, so the helpe of one causeth anothers harme: for as much as nothing can be giuen to any one, vnlesse it be taken from an other. But I am of a contrarie opinion (quoth I) for mee thinketh that men shall neuer there liue wealthilie, where all things be common. For how can there be a boundaunce of goods, or of any thing, where euerie man withdraweth his hand from labour? Whome the regarde of his owne gaines driueth not to worke, but the hope y he hath in other mens trauailes maketh him sloathfull.

Then when they be pricked with pouertie, and yet no man can by any lawe or right defende that for his owne, which he hath gotten with the labour of his owne handes, shall not there of necessitie be continuall sedition and bloudshead? Specially the authoritie & reuerence of magestrates, being taken away, which, what place it may haue with such men among whome is no difference, I cannot deuise. I meruaile not (quoth he) that you be of this opinion. For you conceiue in your mind eyther none at all, or else a very false Image and similitude of this thing. But if you had bin with me in Vtopia, and had presently seene their fashions and lawes, as I did, which liued there, fiue yeares, and more, and woulde neuer haue come thence, but onelie to make that newe land knowne heere: Then doubtlesse you would graunt, that you neuer sawe people well ordered, but onelie there. Surely (quoth maister Peter) it shall be hard for you to make me beleeue, that there is better order in that newe land, then is heere in these countries, that we knowe. For good wits be as well heere as there: and I thinke our common wealthes be auncienter then theirs: wherein long vse and experience hath founde out manie things commodious for mans life, besides that manie things heare among vs haue beene found by chaunce, which no wit could euer haue deuised. As touching the auncientnesse (quoth he) of commō wealthes, then you might better iudge if you had read the

Hiſtories and Chronicles of that land, which, if we may beleeue, Cities were there, before men were heere. Now what thing ſoeuer hitherto by wit hath beene deuiſed, or found by chaunce, that might be as well there as heere. But I thinke verilie, though it were ſo that we did paſſe them in wit: yet in ſtudy, in trauaile, and in labourſome endeuour they, farre paſſe vs. For (as their Chronicles teſtifie) before our arriual there, they neuer heard any thing of vs, whom they call the vltraequinoctialles: ſauing that once about. M.CC. yeares ago, a certaine ſhip was loſt by the Ile of Vtopia, which was driuen thither by tempeſt. Certaine Romaines and Egiptians were caſt on land. Which after that neuer went thence. Marke now what profit they take of this one occaſion through deligence and earneſt trauaile. There was no craft nor ſcience within the empire of Rome whereof anie profit could riſe, but they either learned it of theſe ſtrangers, or elſe of them, taking occaſion to ſearch for it, found it out. So great profit was it to them that euer any went thither, from hence. But if anye like chaunce before this hath brought anie man from thence hither, that is as quite out of remembraunce, as this alſo perchaunce in time to come ſhall bee forgotten, that euer I was there. And like as they gentilie, almoſt at the firſt meeting, made their owne, what ſoeuer is among vs wealthelie deuiſed: ſo I ſuppoſe it would be long before we ſhould receiue anye thing, that among them is better inſtituted then among vs. And this I ſuppoſe is the chiefe cauſe why their common wealthes bee wiſelyer gouerned, and do flouriſh in more wealth then ours, though wee neyther in witte nor riches bee their inferious. Therefore gentle Maiſter Raphael (quoth I) I praye you and beſeeche you, deſcribe vnto vs the Iland. And ſtudie not to be ſhort: but declare largelie in order their groundes, their Riuers, their Cities, their people, their manners, their ordinaunces, their lawes, & to be ſhort, al things that you ſhal think vs deſirous to knowe. And you ſhal thinke vs deſirous to knowe what-

soeuer we know not yet. There is nothing (quoth he) that I will doo gladlier. For al these things I haue fresh in mind. But the matter requireth leysure. Let vs go in therefore (quoth I) to dinner, afterward we will bestowe the time at our pleasure. Content (quoth he) be it. So we went in and dyned. When dinner was done, wee came into the same place againe, and sate vs downe vpon the same bench, commanding our seruants that no man shuld trouble vs. Then I and Maister Peter Giles, desired Maister Raphaell to performe his promise. Ye therefore seeing vs desirous and willing to hearken to him, when he had sat stil and pausd a little while, musing and bethinking himselfe, thus he began to speake.

The ende of the first Booke.

The ſecond Booke

of the communication of *Raphael*, *Hythloday*, concerning the beſt ſtate of a common wealth, *conteining the diſcription of* Vtopia, *with a large declaration of the politique gouernment, and of all the good lawes and orders of the ſame Iland.*

THe Ilande of Vtopia, conteineth in breadth in the middle parte of it (for there it is brodeſt) C C. miles. Which breadth continueth through the moſt part of the lande, ſauing that by little and little it commeth in, and wareth narrower towardes both the endes. Which fetching about a circuit or compaſſe of fiue hundred miles, doo faſhion the whole Ilande like to the newe moone. Betweene theſe two corners the Sea runneth in, diuiding them a ſunder by the diſtance of a leauen miles or there abouts, and there ſurmounteth into a large ſea, which by reaſon that the lande on euerie ſide compaſſeth it about, and ſhilteth it from the windes, is not rough, nor mounteth not with great waues, but almoſt floweth quietly, not much vnlike a great ſtanding poule: and maketh wel-nigh all the ſpace within the bellie of the land in maner of a hauen: and to the great commoditie of the inhabitauntes, receiueth in ſhips towards euery part of the lande. The forefronts or frontires of the two corners, what with with bordes and ſhelues, and what with rocks, be verie ieopardous and dangerous.

The figur and faſhion of the new Iland Vtopia.

gerous. In the middle diſtaunce betweene them both, ſtandeth vp aboue the water a great rocke, which therefore it is nothing perilous because it is in ſight. Vpon the top of this rocke is a faire and a ſtrong tower builded, which they hold with a gariſon of men. Other rocks there be lying hidde vnder the water, which therefore be daungerous. The channelles be knowne onelie to themſelues. And therefore it ſeldome chaunceth that any ſtraunger vnleſſe he be guided by an Vtopian, can come into this hauen. In ſo much that they themſelues could ſcarſely enter without ieoperdie, but that their way is directed and ruled by certaine land marks ſtanding on the ſhore. By turning, tranſlating, and remouing theſe markes, into other places, they may deſtroy their enemies nauies, be they neuer ſo many. The out ſide or vtter circuite of the land, is alſo full of hauens, but the landing is ſo ſurely fenced, what by nature, and what by workemãſhip of mens hands, that a fewe defenders may driue backe many armies. Howbeit as they ſay, and as the faſhion of the place it ſelfe doth partly ſhewe, it was not euer compaſſed about with the ſea. But King Vtopus, whoſe name, as cõquerour, the Iland, beareth. (For before this time it was called Abraxa) which alſo brought the rude and wilde people to that excellent perfection in all good faſhions, humanitie, and ciuile gentleneſſe, wherein they now goe beyond all the people of the world: euen at his arriuing and entering vpon the land, forthwith obteyning the victorie, cauſed fifteene miles ſpace of vplandiſh ground, where the ſea had no paſſage, to be cut and digged vp. And ſo brought the ſea round about the land. He ſet to this worke, not onely the inhabitaunts of the Iland (becauſe they ſhoulde not thinke it done in contumely and deſpight) but alſo all his owne ſouldiours.

A place naturally fenced, needeth one gariſon.

A politique deuiſe in the chaunging of lãd markes.

The Iland of Vtopia, ſo named of King Vtopus.

Thus the worke being diuided into ſo great a number of workemen, was with exceeding meruailous ſpæd diſpatched. In ſo much that the borderers, which at the firſt begã to mocke, and to ieaſt as the vaine enterprize, then turned

Manie hands make light worke.

their

their derision to meruaile at the successe, and to feare. There be in the Iland fiftie foure large and faire Cities, or shiere townes, agreeing all togither in one tongue, in like maners, institutions, & lawes. They be all set and situate a like, and in all pointes fashioned alike, as far forth as the place or plot suffereth. Cities in Vtopia. Similitude causeth concord.

Of these Cities they that be nighest together be twentie foure miles asunder. Againe there is none of thē distant frō the next aboue one dayes iourney a foote. There come yearely to Amaurote, out of euery citie, three old men wise and wel experienced, there to intreat and debate, of the common matters of the land. For this Citie (because it standeth iust in the midst of the Iland, and is therefore most meete for the Ambassadours of all partes of the Realme) is taken for the chiefe and heade Cittie. The precinctes and boundes of the shieres, be so commodiously appointed out, and set forth for the cities, that none of them all hath of any side lesse then twentie miles of ground, and of some side also much more, as of that part where the cities be of further distaunce a sunder. None of the cities desire to enlarge the boundes and limits of their shieres. For they count themselues rather the good husbands, then the owners of their landes. They haue in the countrey in all partes of the shiere, houses or farmes builded, well appointed and furnished with all sortes of instruments and tooles belonging to husbandrie. These houses be inhabited of the citizens, which come thither to dwell by course. No household or farme in the countrey hath fewer then fiftie persons men and women, besides two bondmen, which bee all vnder the rule and order of the good man, and the good wife of the house, being both verie sage, discrete, and auncient persons. And euerie thirtie farmes or families haue one head ruler, which is called a Philarche, being as it were a heade baylife. Out of euerie one of these families or farmes, commetheuery yeere into the citie twentie persons, which haue continued two yeeres before in the countrey. A meane distance betweene citie and citie. The distribution of lands. But this now adaies is the ground of al mischief. Husbandrie and tillage, chifely and principallie regarded and aduanced.

In

In their place ſo many freſh bee ſent theither out of the Citie, who, of them that haue beene there a yeare alr ie, and bee therefore expert and cunning in huſbandry, ſhalbe inſtructed and taught. And they the next yeare ſhall teache other.

This order is vſed for feare that eyther ſcarſeneſſe of victualls, or ſome other like incommoditie ſhoulde chaunce, through lacke of knowledge: if they ſhoulde bee altogither new, and freſh, and vnexpert in huſbandrie. This maner and faſhion, of yearelie chaunging and renewing the occupiers of huſbandrie, though it be ſolemne and cuſtomablye vſed, to thinke that no man ſhall bee conſtrained againſt his will to continewe long in that hard and ſharpe kinde of life, yet manie of them haue ſuch a pleaſure and delight in huſbandrie, that they obtaine a longer ſpace of yeares. The huſbandmen, plough and till the ground, and breede vp cattell, and prouide and make readie wood, which they carrie to the Citie either by land, or by water, as they may moſt conueniently. They bring vp a great multitude of pulleyn, and that by a meruailous policie. For the hennes doo not ſit vpon the egges: but by keeping them in a certaine equall heate they bring life into them, and hatch them. The chickens, aſſoone as they be come out of the ſhell, follow men and women in ſtéed of the hennes. They bring vp verie fewe horſes: nor none, but verie farce ones: and that fornone other vſe or purpoſe, but onelie to exerciſe their youth in riding, and feates of armes. For oxen be put to al the labour of ploughing and drawing. Which they graunt to bee not ſo good as horſſes at a ſuddaine brunt, and (as we ſay) at a deade lift, but yet they hold an opinion, that oxen will abide and ſuffer much more labour, payne and hardineſſe, then horſſes will. And they thinke that oxen be not in danger and ſubiect vnto ſo manie diſeaſes, and that they be kept & maintained with much leſſe coſte and charge: and finallie that they be good for meate, when they be paſt laboure. They ſowe corne onelie for breade. For their drinke is eyther

The duties of men of huſbandry.

A ſtrange faſhion in hatching and bringing vp of pulleyne.

The vſe of horſes.

The vſe of Oxen.

Wine

Wine made of grapes, or else of apples, or peares, or else it is cleare water. And manie times meathe made of honey or licouresse sodde in water, for thereof they haue great store. And though they knowe certainlie (for they knowe it perfectly indeede) how much vitailes the cittie with the whole countrey or shiere round about it doth spend: yet they sowe much more corne, and breede vp much more cattell, then serueth for their owne vse, parting the ouerplus among their borderers. Whatsoeuer necessarie things be lacking in the countrey, all such stuffe they fetch out of the cittie: where with out any exchaunge, they easilie obteine it of the magistrates of the cittie. For euery moneth manie of them go into the cittie on the holy day. When their haruest day draweth neare, and is at hand, then the Phylarches, which be the head officers and baliffes of husbandrie, sende worde to the magistrates of the cittie what number of haruest men is needfull to be sent to them out of the cittie. The which companie of haruest men being readie at the day appointed, almost in one fayre day dispatcheth all the haruest worke.

Bread and drinke.

A great discretion in sowing of corne.

Mutuall helpe quicklie dispatcheth.

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Mutuall helpe quicklie dispatcheth.

Of the Cities, and namelie of *Amaurote*.



S for their cities, who so knoweth one of them, knoweth them all: they bee also like one to an other, as farre forth as the nature of the place permitteth. I will describe therefore to you one or other of them, for it skilleth not greatlie which: but which rather then Amaurote? Of them all, this is the worthiest and of most dignitie. For the residue knowledge it for the head cittie, because there is the counsaile house. Nor to me anie of them all is better beloued, as wherein I liued fiue whole yeares togither. The Cittie of Amaurote standeth vppon the side of a lowe hil, in fashion almost foure square. For the breadth of it beginneth a little beneath the toppe of the hill, and still continueth by the space of two miles, vntill it come to the riuer of Anyder. The length of it, which lieth by the riuers side, is somewhat more. The riuer of Anyder riseth foure and twentie miles aboue Amaurote out of a little spring. But being increased by other small Riuers and Brookes that runne into it, and among other two somewhat bigge ones, before the citie it is halfe a mile broad, and farther broader. And fortie miles beyond the cittie it falleth into the Ocean sea. By all that space that lieth betweene the sea and the cittie, and certaine miles also aboue the citie, the water ebbeth and floweth fiue houres togither with a swift tide. When the seaflowеth in, for the length of thirtie miles it filleth all the Anyder with salte water, and

The description of Amaurote the chiefe Cittie in Vtopia.

The description of the riuer of Anyder.

The verie like in England in the riuer of Thames.

and driueth backe the fresh water of the riuer. And somewhat further, it changeth the sweetenesse of the fresh water with saltnesse. But a little beyond that, the riuer wareth sweete, and runneth forby the citie fresh and pleasaunt. And when the sea ebbeth, and goeth backe againe, the fresh water followeth it almost euen to the verie fall of the sea. There goeth a bridge ouer the riuer made not of piles or of timber, but of stone worke, with gorgious and substantiall Arches, at that part of the Cittie that is farthest from sea: to the intent that shippes maye passe along forby all the side of the Cittie without let. They haue also an other riuer which indeede is not verie great. But it runneth gentlie and pleasauntlie. For it riseth euen out of the same hill that the Citie standeth vpon, and runneth downe a slope through the middest of the Cittie into Anyder.

Heerein also doth London agree with Amaurote.

And because it riseth a little without the Citie, the Amaurotians haue inclosed th headspring of it, with strong fences, and bulwarkes, and so haue ioyned it to the Cittie. This is don to the intent that the water should not be stopped, nor turned away, or poysoned, if their enemies shoulde chaunce to come vpon them. From thence the water is deriued and conueied down in channels of bricke diuers waies, into the lower parts of the citie. Where that cannot be don, by reason that the place will not suffer it, there they gather the raine water in great cisternes. which doth them as good seruice. The Cittie is compassed about with a high and thicke stone wall full of turrettes and bulwarkes. A drie diche, but deepe and broade, and ouergrowne with bushes, briers, and thornes, goeth about three sides or quarters of the Cittie. To the fourth side the riuer it selfe serueth for a diche. The streets be appointed and set forth very commodious, and handsome, both for carriage, and also against the windes. The houses be of faire and gorgious building, and on the streete side they stand ioyned togither in a long rowe through the whole street, without any partition or separation. The streetes bee twentie foote broade. On the backe side

The vse of fresh water.

The defece of towne walles.

Streetes.

Buildings and houses

To euerie dwelling house a garden place adioyning.

of the houſes throughe the whole length of the ſtreet, lie large Gardens incloſed rounde about with the backe parte of the ſtreetes. Euerie houſe hath two doores, one into the ſtreete, and a poſterne doore on the backe ſide into the Garden. Theſe doores be made with two leaues, neuer locked nor bolted, ſo eaſie to bee opened, that they will followe the leaſt drawing of a finger, and ſhut againe alone. Who ſo will, may goe in, for there is nothing within the houſes that is priuate, or anie mans owne. And euerie tenth yeare they chaunge theyr houſes by lot. They ſet great ſtore by their gardens.

This geare ſmelleth of Plato his cõmunitie.

In them they haue vine yardes, all maner of fruite, hearbes, and flowers, ſo pleaſaunt, ſo well furniſhed, and ſo finelie kept, that I neuer ſawe thing more hurtfull, nor better trimmed in anie place. Their ſtudie and diligence heerein commeth not onelie of pleaſure, but alſo of a certain ſtrife and contention that is betwne ſtreete and ſtreete, concerning the trimming, husbanding, and furniſhing of their gardens: euerie man for his owne parte. And verilie you ſhall not lightlie finde in all the cittie anie thing, that is more commodious, eyther for the profit of the Cittizens, or for pleaſure. And therefore it may ſeeme that the firſt founder of the cittie minded nothing ſo much, as theſe gardens. For they ſay that King, Vtopus himſelfe, euen at the firſt beginning, appointed and drewe forth the plat fourme of the cittie into this faſhion and figure that it hath now, but the gallant garniſhing, and the beautifull ſetting forth of it, whereunto hee ſawe that one mans age would not ſuffice, that hee left to his poſteritie. For their chronicles, which they keepe written with all diligent circumſpection, conteyning the hiſtorie of.M.vii.C.lx. yeares, euen from the firſt conqueſt of the Iland, recorde and witneſſe that the houſes in the beginning were verie lowe, and like homelie cotages or poore ſhepheard houſes, made at all aduentures of euerie rude peece of timber, that came firſt to hand, with mudde walles, and ridged roofes, thatched ouer with ſtraw.

The commoditie of gardens is commended alſo of Vergue.

But

But now the houses be curiouslie builded after a gorgious and gallant sorte, with three stories one ouer another. The out sides of the walles be made eyther of hard flint, or of plaster, or else of bricke, and the inner sides be well strengthned with timber worke. The rofes be plaine and flat, couered with a certaine kinde of plaster, that is of no coft, and yet so tempered that no fire can hurt or perish it, and withstandeth the violence of the weather better then any leade. They keepe the winde out of their windowes with glasse, for it is there much vsed, and some heere also with fine linnen cloath dipped in oyle or amber, and that for two commodities. For by this meanes more light commeth in, and the wind is better kept out.

Glased or canuased windowes.

Of the Magistrates.

Euerie thirtie families or farmes, chose them yearelie an officer, which in their old language is called the Siphogrant, and by a newer name the Philarche. Euerie ten Syphogrants, with all their thirtie families be vnder an officer, which was once called the Tranibore, now the chiefe Philarche. Moreouer as concerning the election of the Prince, all the Syphogrants, which be in number, two hundred, fwt be fworne to chose him, whom they thinke most meete and expedient. Then by a secret election, they name Prince one of those foure, whome the people before named vnto them. For out of the foure quarters of the cittie there be foure chosen, out of euerie quarter one, to stand for the election: which bee put vp to the counsaile. The Princes office continueth all his life time, vnlesse he be deposed or put downe for suspitiõ of tirannie. They chose the Tranibores yearely, but lightlie they chaunge them not. All the other officers be but for one yeare. The Tranibores

A tranibore in the Vtopian tong, signifieth a head or chief peere.

A meruailous strange fashion in chooſing magistrats.

Tyranny in a well ordered weale publique vtterly to be abhorred.

Sutes and controuerſies betweene parrie and partie forthwith to be ended, wh c̄ now a daies of a ſet purpoſe be vnreaſonably delaied.

nibores euerie third day, and ſometimes, if neede be, oftner come into the counſaile houſe with the prince. Their counſel is concerning the common wealth. If there bee any controuerſies among the commoners, which be verie fewe, they diſpatch and end them by and by. They take euer two Syphogrants to them in counſaile, and euerie day a new couple. And it is prouided, that nothing touching the common wealth ſhall be confirmed and ratified, vnleſſe it haue beene reaſoned of and debated, three daies in the counſaile, before it be decreede. It is death to haue any conſultation, for the common wealth out of the counſaile, or the place of the common election. This ſtatute, they ſay, was made to the intēt, that the prince and Tranibores, might not eaſilie conſpire together to oppreſſe the people by tyrannie, and to chaunge the ſtate of the weale-publique. Therefore matters of great waight and importaunce be brought to the election houſe of the Syphogrants, which, open the matter to their families. And afterward, when they haue conſulted among themſelues, they ſhewe their deuiſe of the counſaile. Sometime the matter is brought before the counſaile of the whole Iland. Furthermore this cuſtome alſo the counſaile vſeth, to diſpute or reaſō of no matter the ſame day that it is firſt propoſed or put forth, but to deferre it to the next ſitting of the counſaile. Becauſe that no man when he hath raſhlie there ſpoken that commeth to his tongues ende, ſhall then afterwarde rather ſtudie for reaſons wherewith to defend and maintaine his firſt foliſh ſentence, then for the commoditie of the common wealth: as one rather willing the harme or hinderaunce of the weale-publique, then any loſſe or diminution of his owne eſtimation. And as one that would be aſhamed (which is a verie foliſh ſhame) to be counted anie thing at the firſt ouerſeene in the matter. Who at the firſt ought to haue ſpoken rather wiſelie, then haſtelie, or raſhlie.

Againſt haſtie and raſh decrees or ſtatutes.

A cuſtome worthie to be vſed theſe daies in our coūcels and parliamēts.

OF

Of Sciences, Crafts and Occupations.

HUsbandrie is a Science cõmon to them all in generall, both men and women, wherin they be all expert and cunning. In this they be all instructed euen frõ theyr youth: partlie in their schooles with traditions and precepts, and partlie in the coũtrey nigh the citie, brought vp as it were in playing, not onelie beholding the vse of it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies practising it also. Husbandry or tillage practised of all estates, which now adaies is reiect vnto a fewe of the baseste sort.

Besides husbandrie, which (as I saide) is common to them all, euerie one of them learneth one or other seuerall and perticuler science, as his owne proper craft. That is most commonlie eyther cloath working in woll or flaxe, or masonrie, or the smithes craft, or the carpenters science. For there is none other occupation that any number to speake of doth vse there. For their garments, which throughout all the Ilande bee of one fashion, (sauing that there is a difference betweene the mans garment and the womans, betweene the maried and the vnmaried) and this one continueth for euermore vnchaunged, seemelie and comelie to the eye, no let to the mouing & welding of the bodie, also fit both for winter and summer: as for these garments (I saye) euerie familie maketh their owne. But of the other foresaide crafts euerie man learneth one. And not onelie the men but also the women. But the women, as the weaker sort, bee put to the easier crafts: as to worke woll and flaxe. The more laboursome sciences be committed to the men. Sciences or occupatiõs should be learned for necessities sake, and not for the maintenance of riotous excesse and wanton pleasure. Similitude in apparell. No citizen without a science.

men. For the moſt part, euerie man is brought vp in his fathers craft. For moſt commonlie they be naturallie thereto bent and inclined. But if a mans minde ſtand to any other, he is by adoption put into a family of that occupation, which he doth moſt fantaſie. Whome not onelie his father, but alſo the Magiſtrate do diligentlie loke to, that he bee put to a diſcrete and an honeſt houſe-holder. Yea, and if any perſon, when he hath learned one craft, be deſirous to learne alſo another, he is likewiſe ſuffered and permitted. When he hath learned both, he occupieth whether he will: vnleſſe the cittie haue more nede of the one, then the other. The chiefe and almoſt the onelie office of the Syphograuntes is, to ſee and take hede, that no man ſit idle: but that euery one applie his owne craft with earneſt diligence. And yet for all that, not to be wearied from earlie in the morning, to late in the euening, with continuall worke, like labouring and toyling beaſtes. For this is worſe then the miſerable & wretched condition of bondmen.

To what occupation euerie one is naturally inclined, that let him learne.

Idle perſons to be driuen out of the weal-publique.

Which, neuertheleſſe is almoſt euerie where the life of workemen and artificers, ſauing in Vtopia. For they diuiding the day and the night into twentie foure iuſt houres, appoint and aſſigne onelie ſixe of thoſe houres to worke, before none, vppon the which they goe ſtraight to dinner: and after dinner, when they haue reaſted two houres, then they worke three houres, and vpon that they go to ſupper. About eight of the clocke in the euening (counting one of the clocke at the firſt houre after none) they goe to bed: eight houres they giue to ſlæpe. All the void time, that is betweene the houres of worke, ſlæpe, and meate, that they be ſuffered to beſtowe, euerie man as he liketh beſt himſelfe. Not to the intent that they ſhould miſpend this time in riote, or ſloathfulneſſe, but beeing then liſenced from the labour of their owne occupations, to beſtowe the time well and thriftilie vpon ſome other ſcience, as ſhall pleaſe them. For it is a ſolemne cuſtome there, to haue lectures daylie earlie in the morning, whereto be preſent, they onely be conſtrained, that

A moderation in the labour and toyle of artificers.

be

be namelie, chosen and appointed to learning. Howbeit a great multitude of euerie sort of people, both men and women goe to heare lectures, some one and some an other, as euerie mans nature is inclined. Yet, this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestowe this time vpon his owne occupation, (as it chaunceth in manie, whose mindes rise not in the contemplation of any science liberall) he is not letted, nor prohibited, but is also praysed and commended, as profitable to the common wealth. After supper they bestow one houre in play: in Summer in their gardens: in Winter in their common halles, where they dine and sup. There they exercise themselues in musicke, or else in honest and wholsome communication. Dice play, and such other sollish and pernicious games they know not. But they vse two games not much vnlike the chesse. The one is the battell of numbers, wherein one number stealeth away another. The other is where vices fight with vertues, as it were in battle array, or a set Fielde. In the which game is very properly shewed, both the strife and discorde, that the vices haue among themselues, and againe their vnitie and concord against vertues: And also what vices be repugnant to what vertues: with what power and strength they assaile them openlie: by what wiles and subtiltie they assault them secretlie: with what helpe and ayde the vertues resist, and ouercome the puissance of the vices: by what craft they frustate their purposes: and finallie by what sleight or meanes the one getteth the victorie. But heare least you be deceiued, one thing you must loke more narrowlie vpon. For seeing they bestowe but sixe houres in worke, perchaunce you may thinke that the lacke of some necessarie things hereof may ensue. But this is nothing so. For that small time is not onelie enough, but also too much for the store and abundance of all things, that be requisite, eyther for the necessitie, or commoditie of life. The which thing you also shall perceiue, if you weye and consider with your selues how great a parte of the people in other Countryes liueth ydle.

The studie of good literature.

Playing after supper.

But now adaies dice-play is the pastime of princes.

Plaies or games also profitable.

The kindes and sortes of ydle people. VVomen.

Firſt almoſt all women, which bee the halfe of the whole number: or elſe if the women be ſomwhere occupied, there moſt commonly in their ſtead the men be ydle. Beſides this how great and how ydle a companie is there of prieſts, and religious men, as they call them? put thereto all rich men ſpecially all landed men, which commonlie bee called Gentlemen, and noble men. Take into this number alſo theyr ſeruauntes: I meane all that flocke of ſtout bragging ruffe bucklers. Joyne to them alſo ſturdie and valiant beggers, cloking their idle life vnder the colour of ſome diſeaſe or ſickneſſe.

Prieſts and religious men.

Rich men and landed men.

Seruingmē.

Sturdy and valiaunt beggers.

And truelie you ſhall finde them much fewer then you thought, by whoſe labour all theſe thnigs are wrought, that in mens affaires are now daylie vſed and frequented. Now conſider with your ſelfe, of theſe fewe that doo worke, how fewe be occupied, in neceſſarie workes. For where money beareth all the ſwing, there many vaine and ſuperfluous occupations muſt nedes be vſed, to ſerue onelie for riotous ſuperfluitie, and vnhoneſt pleaſure. For the ſame multitude that now is occupied in worke, if they were deuided into ſo fewe occupations, as the neceſſarie vſe of nature requireth: in ſo great plentie of things as them of neceſſitie woulde enſue, doubtleſſe the prices would be too litle for the artificers to maintaine their liuings.

VVonderful wittilie ſpoken.

But if all theſe, that be now buſied about vnprofitable occupations, with al the whole flock of them that liue ydlely and ſloathfullie, which conſume & waſte euerie one of them more of theſe things that come by other mens labour, then two of the workemen themſelues doo: if all theſe (I ſaye) were ſet to profitable occupations: you eaſilie perceiue how little time would be enough, yea and too much to ſtore vs with all things that may be requiſite eyther for neceſſitie, or for commodity, yea or for pleaſure, ſo that the ſame pleaſure be true and naturall. And this in Vtopia the thing it ſelfe maketh manifeſt and plaine. For there in all the cittie with the whole countrey, or ſhiere adioyning to it ſcarſelie fiue

hundred.

hundred persons of all the whole number of men and women, that be neither too olde nor too weake to worke, bee licensed and discharged from labour. Among them bee the Syphograunts (who though they be by the lawes exempt and priuileged from labor) yet they exempt not themselues: to the intent they may the rather by their example prouoke others to worke.

Not as much as the magistrates liue idlelie.

The same vacation from labour do they also enioy, to whome the people perswaded by the commendation of the priestes, and secret election of the Syphogrants, haue giuen a perpetuall licence, from labour to learning. But if any one of them proue not according to the expectation and hope of him conceiued, he is forthwith plucked backe to the company of artificers. And contrarie wise, often it chanceth that a handicrafts man doth so earnestly bestowe his vacaunt and spare houres in learning, and through diligence so profiteth therein, that he is taken from his handy occupation, and promoted to the companie of the learned. Out of this order of the learned bee chosen Ambassadours, Priestes, Tranibores, and finallie the prince himselfe. Whome they in their old tongue call Barzanes, and by a newer name, Adamus.

Onelie learned men called to offices.

The residue of the people being neyther idle, nor yet occupied about vnprofitable exercises, it may be easilie iudged in how fewe houres how much good worke by them may be done and dispatched, towardes those things that I haue spoken off. This commoditie they haue also aboue other, that in the most parte of necessarie occupations they néede not so much worke, as other nations do. For first of al ỹ building or repairing of houses asketh euery where so many mens continuall labour, because ỹ the vnthriftie heire suffereth ỹ houses that his father builded in cõtinuance of time to fal in decay. So ỹ which he might haue vpholden with little cost, his successor is constrained to build it againe a new, to his great charge. Yea many times also the house that stode one man in much money: and an other is of so nice and

How to auoid excessiue cost in building.

ſo delicate a minde, that he ſetteth nothing by it. And it bee-ing neglected, and therefore ſhortly falling into ruyne, hee buildeth vp another in an other place with no leſſe coſt and charge.

But among the Vtopians, where all things be ſette in good order, and the common wealth in a good ſtay, it very ſeldome chaunceth, that they chooſe a new plotte to builde an houſe vpon. And they doo not onelie finde ſpeedie and quicke remedies for preſent faultes: but alſo preuent them that bee like to fall. And by this meanes their houſes continue and laſt verie long with little labour and ſmall reparations, inſomuch that theſe kind of workemē ſometimes haue almoſt nothing to doo. But that they be commaunded to hewe timber at home, and to ſquare and trim vp ſtones, to the intent that if any worke chaunce, it may the ſpeedilier riſe.

How to leſſen the charge in apparell.

Now for their apparell, marke (I pray you) how few workemen they need. Firſt of all, whiles they bee at worke, they be couered homelie with leather, or ſkinnes, that will laſt ſeauen yeares. When they goe forth abroade they caſt vpon them a cloake, which hydeth the other homelie apparell. Theſe cloakes throughout the whole Iland be all of one colour, and that is the naturall colour of the wooll. They therefore doe not onelie ſpende much leſſe woollen cloath, then is ſpent in other countries, but alſo the ſame ſtandeth them in much leſſe coſt. But linnen cloath is made with leſſe labour, and is therefore had more in vſe. But in linnen cloath onelie whiteneſſe, in woollen, onelie cleanlineſſe is regarded. As for the ſmalneſſe or fineneſſe of the threedde, that is nothing paſſed for. And this is the cauſe wherefore in other places foure or fiue cloath gowns of diuers colours, and as many ſilke coates be not enough for one man. Yea, and if he be of the delicate and nice ſort, tenne be to fewe: where as there one garment will ſerue a man moſt cōmonlie two yeares. For why ſhould he deſire moe? ſeeing if hee had them, he ſhould not be the better hapt or couered from cold, neither in his apparell any whit the comelier. Where-

fore

fore, seeing they be all exercised in profitable occupations, and that fewe Artificers in the same craftes bee sufficient, this is the cause that plentie of al things being among them, they doo sometimes bring forth an innumerable companie of people to amend the high waies, if any be broken. Manie times also, when they haue no such worke to bee occupied about, an open proclamatiõ is made, that they shall bestowe fewer houres in worke. For the magistrates do not exercise their cittizens against their willes in vnneedefull labors. For why in the institution of that weale-publique, this end is onelie and chiefely pretended and minded, that what time may possibly bee spared from the necessarie occupations and affayres of the common-wealth, all that the cittizens should withdrawe from the bodilie seruice to the free libertie of the mind, and garnishing of the same. For herein they suppose the felicitie of this life to consist.

Of their liuing and mutuall conuersation togither.

But now will I declare how the citizens vse themselues one towards an other: what familiar occupying & entertainement, there is among the people, and what fashion they vse in the distributi-on of euerie thing. First the Cittie consisteth of families, the families most commonlie be made of kinreds. For the women, when they be maried at a lawfull age, they goe into their husbandes houses.

But the male children, with all the whole male offspring continue still in their owne familie, and be gouerned of the eldest and auncientest father, vnlesse he dote for age: for thē the next to him in age, is placed in his rome. But to the intent the prescript number of the citizens shoulde neither de- The number of citizens.

creaſe, nor aboue meaſure increaſe, it is ordeined that no familie which in euerie cittie be ſix thouſand in the whole, beſides them of the countrey, ſhall at once haue fewer children of the age of fourteene yeares or there about, then ten, or more then ſixteene, for of children vnder this age, no nũber can be preſcribed or appointed. This meaſure or number is eaſily obſerued & kept, by putting them ẏ in fuller families bee aboue the number into families of ſmaller increaſe. But if chãce be that in the whole cittie the ſtore increaſe aboue the iuſt number, wherewith they fil vp the lacke of other Cities. But if ſo be that the multitude throughout the whole Iland, paſſe and exceede the due number, then they chooſe out of euerie cittie certaine cittizens, & build vp a towne vnder their owne lawes in ẏ next land where the inhabitants haue much waſte & vnoccupied ground, receiuing alſo of the ſame cõtrey people to them, if they will ioyne and dwell with them. They thus ioyning and dwelling togither do eaſilie agree in one faſhion, of liuing, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples. For they ſo bring the matter about by their lawes, ẏ the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is now ſufficiẽt and fruitfull enough for them both. But if the inhabitants of ẏ land, will not dwell with them to be ordered by their lawes, then they driue them out of thoſe boundes which they haue limited and appointed out for themſelues.

And if they reſiſt and rebell, then they make warre againſt them. For they counte this the moſt iuſte cauſe of warre, when anie people holdeth a peece of grounde voyde and vacaunt to no good nor profitable vſe, keeping other from the vſe and poſſeſſion of it, which notwithſtanding by the lawe of nature ought thereof to bee nouriſhed and relieued. If any chaunce do ſo much diminiſh the number of any of their Citties, that it cannot bee filled vp againe, without the diminiſhing of the iuſt number of the other Cities (which they ſaye chaunced but twiſe ſince the beginning of the lande through a great peſtilent

plague)

plague) then they fulfill and make vp, the number with citti-
zens fetched out of their owne forraigne townes, for they
had rather suffer their forreign townes to decay and perish,
then any Cittie of theyr owne Iland to be diminished. But
now againe to the conuersation of the Citizens among thē-
selues.

The eldest (as I said) ruleth the familie. The wiues bee
ministers to their husbands, the children to their parents,
and to bee short the yonger to their elders. Euerie Cittie is
diuided into foure equall partes or quarters. In the midst of
euery quarter there is a market place of al maner of things.
Thither ẏ workes of euerie familie be brought into certaine
houses. And euery kind of thing is layd vp seueral in barnes
or store houses. From hence the father of euerie familie, or
euerie housholder fetcheth whatsoeuer he and his haue nēd
off, and carieth it away with him without money, without
exchaunge, without any gage, pawne, or pledge. For why
should any thing be denied vnto him? seeing there is a boū-
dance of all things, and that it is not to be feared, least any
man will aske more then he nēdeth. For why should it bee
thought that that man would aske more then inough, which
is sure neuer to lacke? Certainlie in all kinds of liuing crea-
tures, eyther feare of lacke doth cause couetousnesse and ra-
uine, or in man onelie pride, which counteth it a glorious
thing to passe and excell other in the superfluous and vaine
ostentation of things. The which kinde of vice among the
Vtopiās can haue no place. Next to the market places ẏ I
spake off, stande meate mar-kets: wihther bee brought not
onelye all sortes of herbes, and the fruits of trees, with
bread, but also fishe, and all manner of foure footed
Beastes, and wilde foule that bee mans meate. But
first the filthinesse and order therof, is cleane washed a-
way in the running Riuer without the Cittie in places ap-
pointed mēte for the same purpose. From thence the
beasts be brought in killed, and cleane washed by the hands

So might we well be discharged and eased of the ydle companie of seruing men.

The cause of couetous and extor-tion.

of

of the ſlaughter of beaſtes we hame learned mãſlaughter.

of their bondmen. For they permit not their free citizens to accuſtome themſelues to the killing of beaſtes, through the vſe whereof they thinke, clemencie the gentleſt affection of our nature by little and little, to decay and periſh. Neither they ſuffer any thing that is filthie, loathſome, or vncleanlie, to be brought into the citie, leaſt the ayre by the ſtench thereof infected and corrupt, ſhoulde cauſe peſtilent diſeaſes.

Filth and other bring the infection of peſtilence into Cities.

Moreouer euerie ſtreete hath certaine great large halles ſet in equall diſtaunce one from an other, euerie one knowne by a ſeuerall name. In theſe halles dwell the Syphogrants. And to euerie one of the ſame halles, be appointed thirtie families, on either ſide fifteene. The ſtewardes of euerie hall, at a certaine houre come into the meate markets, where they receiue meate according to the number of their halles.

But firſt and chiefely of al, reſpect is had to the ſicke, that be cured in the hoſpitalles. For in the circuite of the Cittie, a litle without the walles, they haue foure hoſpitales, ſo big, ſo wide, ſo ample, and ſo large, that they may ſeeme foure little townes, which were deuiſed of that bigneſſe, partlie to the intent the ſicke be they neuer ſo manie in number, ſhuld not lie too throng or ſtrayt, and therefore vneaſilie, & incommodiouſlie: and partlie that they which were taken and holden with contagious diſeaſes, ſuch as be wont by infection to creepe from one to an other, might be laide a far from the companie of the reſidue. Theſe hoſpitalls be ſo well appointed, and with al things neceſſarie to health ſo furniſhed, and moreouer ſo diligent attendaunce through the continuall preſence of cunning phiſitians is giuen, that though no man be ſent thither againſt his will, yet notwithſtanding there is no ſicke perſon in all the Citie, that had not rather lye there then at home in his owne houſe. When the ſtewarde of the ſicke hath receiued ſuch meates as the phiſitians haue preſcribed, then the beſt is equallie diuided among the halles, according to the companie of euery one, ſauing that there is had a reſpect to the prince, the biſhop,

Care, diligence and attendance about the ſicke.

the

the Trauiours, and to ambassadors and all straungers, if there be any, which be very fewe and seldome. But they also when they be there, haue certaine seuerall houses appointed and prepared for them. To these halles at the set houres of dinner and supper, commeth all the whole Syphograntie or ward, warned by the noyse of a brasen trumpet: except such as be sicke in the hospitalles, or elle in their owne houses.

Howbeit, no man is prohibited or forbid, after the halles be serued, to fetch home meate out of the market to his owne house, for they know that no man wil do it without a cause reasonable. For though no man bee prohibited to dine at home, yet no man doth it willinglie: because it is counted a point of small honestie. And also it were a follie to take the paine to dresse a bad dinner at home, whē they may be welcome to good and fine fare so nigh hand at the hall. In this hal, all vile seruice, all slauerie, and drudgerie, with al laborsome toyle, and base businesse, is done by bondmen. But the women of euerie familie by course haue the office and charge of cookerie for seething and dressing the meate, and ordering all things thereto belonging. They sit at three tables or moe, according to the number of their companye. The men sit vpon the bench next the wall, and the women against them on the other side of the table, and if any sodaine euill chaunce to them, as manie times happeneth to women with child, they may rise without trouble or disturbance of any bodie, and go thence into the nurserie. The nurces sit seuerall alone with their young sucklings, in a certaine parlour appointed and deputed to the same purpose, neuer without fire and cleane water, nor yet without cradels, that when they will they may lay downe the yong infāts, and at their pleasure take them out of their swathing cloathes, and hold them to the fire, and refresh them with play. Euery mother is nurse to her owne childe, vnlesse eyther death, or sickenesse be the let. When that chanceth, the wiues of the Syphogrants quicklie prouide a nurce. And

Euerie man is at his libertie, so that nothing is done by cōpulsion.

VVomen both dresse and serue the meate.

Nurces

that is not hard to be done. For they that can do it, proffer themselues to no seruice so gladlie as to that. Because that there this kind of peece is much praysed: and the childe that is nourished, euer after, taketh his nurce for his owne natural mother. Also among the nurces, sit al the children that be vnder the age of fiue yeares. All the other children of both kinds, as well boyes as gyrles, that be vnder the age of mariage, do eyther serue at the tables, or else if they be too yong thereto, yet they stand by with meruailous silence. That which is giuen to them from the table they eate, and other seuerall dinner time they haue none. The Syphogrant and his wife sit in the midest of the high Table, for as much as that is counted the honorablest place, and because frō thence all the whole companie is in their sight. For that table standeth ouer thwart the ouer end of the hal. To them be ioined two of the auncientest and eldest. For at euerie table they sit foure at a messe. But if there be a Church standing in that Syphograntie, or ward, then the Priest and his Wife sitteth with the Syphogrant, as chiefe in the companie. On both sides of them sit yong men, and next vnto them again, old men. And thus through out all the house, equall of age be set togither, and yet bee mixt and matched with vnequall ages.

Nothing sooner prouoketh mē to well doo ing then praise & cō mendation.

The education of yong children.

The yong mixed with their elders.

This, they say, was ordeyned, to the intent that the sage grauity and reuerence of the elders should kep the yongers from wanton licence of words and behauiour. For as much as nothing can bee so secretlie spoken or done at the table, but eyther they that sit on the one side or on the other, must nædes perceiue it The dishes bee not sette downe in order from the first place, but all the old men (whose places bee marked with some speciall token to be knowne) be first serued of their meate, and then the residue equallie. The olde men, deuide their deintics as they thinke best to the yonger on each side of them. Thus the elders be not defrauded of their due honour, and neuertheless equall commodity commeth to euerie one. They begin euerie dinner and supper of reading

Old men regarded and reuerenced.

reading somthing that pertaineth to good maners and vertue. But it is short, because no man shall bee grieued therewith. Hereof the elders take occasion of honest communication, but neither sad nor vnpleasant. Howbeit they do not spend all the whole dinner time themselues, with long and tedious talke, but they gladlie heare also the yong men: yea, and purposelie prouoke them to talke, to the intent that they may haue a proofe of euerie mans wit, and towardnes, or disposition to vertue, which commonlie in the libertie of feasting doth shewe and vtter it selfe. Their diuers be verie short: but their suppers be somewhat longer, because that after dinner, followeth labour, after supper, sleepe and naturall rest, which they thinke to be of more strength and efficacie to wholsome and healthfull digestion. No supper is passed without musicke. Nor their bankets want no conceits, nor ionkets. They burne sweete gummes and spices or persumes, and pleasant smells, and sprinckle about sweet ointments and waters, yea, they haue nothing vndon that maketh or the cherishing of the companie. For they be much enclined to this opinion: to thinke no kinde of pleasure forbidden, whereof commeth no harme. Thus thepefore and after this sort they liue togither in the cittie, but in the countrey they that dwell alone farre from any neighbours, do dine and suppe at home in their owne houses. For no familie there lacketh any kind of victualles, as from whom commeth all that the citizens eate and liue by.

This now a daies is obserued in our vniuersities.

Talke at the table.

This is repugnant to the opinion of our phisitions.

Musicke at the table.

Pleasure without harme, not discommendable.

Of their iourneying

or trauailing abroad, with diuers other matters cunninly reasoned, and wittilie discussed.

But if any bee desirous to visite eyther theyr freendes dwelling in an other citie, or to see the place it selfe, they easily obteine licence of theyr Syppograuntes and Tramborzes, vnlesse there be some profitable let. No man goeth out alone but a companie is sent forth togither with theyr princes letters, who do testifie that they haue licence to goe that iourney, and prescribeth also the day of theyr returne.

They haue a wayne ginen them, with a common bondman, which driueth the oxen, and taketh charge of them. But vnlesse they haue women in their companie, they send home the wayne againe, as an impediment and a let. And though they carrie nothing forth with them, yet in all theyr iourney they lacke nothing. For where soeuer they come, they be at home. If they tary in a place longer then one day, then there euery one of them falleth to his own occupation, and be very gently entertained of the workemen and companies of the same crafts. If any man of his owne head and without leaue, walke out of his precinct and boundes, taken without the princes letters, he is brought againe for a fugitiue, or a run away with great shame and rebuke, and is sharpelie punished. If he be taken in that fault againe, he is

punished

punished with bondage. If any be desirous to walke abroad into the fieldes, or into the Countrey that belongeth to the same Citie that he dwelleth in, obteining the good will of his father, and the consent of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of the Countrey soeuer he commeth, he hath no meate giuen him vntill he haue wrought out his forenoones talke, or dispatched so much worke, as there is wont to be wrought before supper. Obseruing this lawe and condition, he may go whither he will within the boundes of his owne Citie. For he shall be no lesse profitable to the Citie, then if he were within it. Now you see how litle libertie they haue to loyter: how they can haue no cloake or pretence to Idlenesse. There be neither wine tauerns, nor ale houses, nor stewes, nor any occasion of vice or wickednesse, no lurking corners, no places of wicked counsailes or vnlawfull assemblies, but they bee in the presence sight, and vnder the eyes of euery man. So that of necessitie they must eyther apply their accustomed labours, or else recreate themselues with honest and laudable pastimes.

O holie common wealth, and of Christians to be followed.

This fashion and trade of life, being vsed among the people, it cannot be chosen, but that they must of necessitie haue store and plentie of all things. And seeing they be all thereof parteners equally, therefore can no man there be poore or needie. In the counsell of Amaurot, whither as I said, euery Citie sendeth three men a peece yearly, assone as it is perfectly knowne of what things there is in euery place plentie, and againe what things be scant in any place, incontinent the lack of the one, is performed and filled vp with the abundance of the other. And this they doe freely without any benefit, taking nothing againe of them, to whom the things is giuen, but those Cities that haue giuen of their store to any other Cittie that lacketh, requiring nothing againe of the same Citie, do take such things as they lacke of an other Cittie, to the which they gaue nothing. So the whole Iland is as it were one familie, or housholde. But when they haue made sufficient prouision of store for themselues

Equalitie is the cause that euery man hath inough.

A common wealth is nothing else but a great housholde.

ſelues (which they thinke not done, vntill they haue prouided for two yeares following, becauſe of the vncerteintie of the next yeares proſe) then of thoſe things, whereof they haue aboundance, they carrie forth into other countries great plentie: as grayne, honey, woll, flax, woode, madder, purple died felles, ware, tallowe, leather, and liuing beaſts. And the ſeauenth part of all theſe things they giue frankly and freelie to the poore of that countrey. The reſidue they ſel at a reaſonable and meane price. By this means of traffique or marchandiſe, they bring into their owne countrey, not onely great plentie of gold and ſiluer, but alſo al ſuch things as they lacke at home, which is almoſt nothing but Iron. And by reaſon they haue lōg vſed this trade, now they haue more aboundance of theſe things, then anye man will beleeue.

The traffique and marchādiſe of the Vtopians.

Now therefore they care not whether they ſell for readie money, or elſe vpon truſt to be payde at a day, and to haue the moſt part in debts. But in ſo doing they neuer followe the credence of priuate men: but the aſſurance or warrantiſe, of the whole cittie, by inſtruments and writings made in that behalfe accordingly. When the day of payment is come and expired, the cittie gathereth vp the debt of the priuate debtours, and putteth it into the common bore, and ſo long hath the vſe and profit of it, vntill the Vtopians their creditours demaund it. The moſt part of it, they neuer aſke. For that thing which is to them no profit to take it from other, to whome it is profitable, they thinke it no right nor conſcience. But if the caſe ſo ſtand, that they muſt lend part of that money to an other people, then they require theyr debt: or when they haue warre. For the which purpoſe onelie, they keepe at home all the treaſure which they haue, to be holpen and ſuccoured by it eyther in extreame ieoperdies, or in ſuddaine daungers. But eſpecially and chiefelye to hire therewith, and that for vnreaſonable great wages, ſtraunge ſouldiours. For they had rather put ſtraungers in ieoperdie, then theyr owne countreymen: knowing that

In all things and aboue al things, to their communitie they haue an eye.

By what policie money may be in leſſe eſtimation.

It is better eyther with money or by pollicie to auoide warre, then with much loſſe of man's bloud to fight.

for

for money enough, their enemies themselues many times may bee bought and sold, or else through treason be set together by the eares, among themselues. For this cause they keepe an inestimable treasure. But yet not as a treasure: but so they haue it, and vse it, as in good faith I am ashamed to shewe: fearing that my words shall not be beleeued. And this I haue more cause to feare, for that I knowe how difficultlie and hardly I my selfe woulde haue beleeued an other man telling the same, if I had not presently seene it with mine eyes. O fine wit.

For it must needes be, that how farre a thing is dissonãt and disagreeing, from the guise and trade of the hearers, so farre shall it be out of their beleefe. Howbeit, a wise and indifferent esteemer of things, wil not greatly meruaile perchance, seeing all their other lawes and customes do so much differ from ours, if the vse also of gold & siluer among them be applied, rather to their owne fashions, then to ours. I meane in that they occupie not monie themselues, but keepe it for that chance, which as it may happen, so it may be, that it shall neuer come to passe. In the meane time, gold and siluer, whereof money is made, they doo so vse, as none of them doth more esteeme it, then the very nature of the thing deserueth.

And then who doth not plainly see, how far it is vnder Iron: as without the which men can no better liue then without fire and water. Whereas to golde and siluer, nature hath giuen no vse, that wee may not well lacke: if that the follie of men hadde not sette it in higher estimation for the rareneesse sake. But of the contrarie part, nature as a most tender and louing mother, hath placed the best and most necessarie things open abroade: as the ayre, the water, and the earth it selfe. And hath removed and hid farthest from vs vaine and vnprofitable things. Therefore if these mettalles, among them should be fast locked vp in some Tower, it might be suspected, that the Prince and the counsaile (as the people is euer foolishlie imagining) Gold worse then yron as touching the necessarie vse therof.

imagining) intended by ſome ſubtiltie to deceiue the Commons, and to take ſome profit of it to themſelues. Furthermore, if they ſhould make thereof plate and ſuch other finely and cunningly wrought ſtuffe, if at any time they ſhould haue occaſion to breake it, and melt it againe, therewith to pay their ſouldiers wages, they ſée and perceiue very well, that men would bee loath to part from thoſe things, that they once began to haue pleaſure & delight in. To remedie all this they haue found out a meanes, which as it is agréeable to all their other lawes and cuſtomes, ſo it is from ours, where gold is ſo much ſet by, and ſo diligently kept, very far diſcripant and repugnant: and therefore vncredible, but onely to them that be wiſe. For where as they eate & drinke in earthen and glaſſe veſſelles, which indéede bee curiouſly and properlie made, and yet be of verie ſmall value: of gold and ſiluer they make chamber pottes, and other veſſelles, that ſerue for moſt vile vſes, not onelie in their cõmon halls, but in euery mans priuate houſe. Furthermore of the ſame mettalls they make great chaynes, fetters, and giues, wherein they tie their bondmen.

O wonderfull contumelie of gold.

Finallie, whoſoeuer for any offence be infamed, by their eares, hang rings of gold: vpõ their fingers they weare rings of gold, and about their neckes chaines of gold: and in concluſion their heades be tied with gold. Thus by all meanes poſſible they procure to haue golde & ſiluer among them in reproach and infamie. And theſe mettalles, which other nations do as grieuouſly and ſorrowfullie forgoe, as in a maner their owne liues: if they ſhuld altogither at once be taken from the Vtopians, no man there would think that he had loſt ỹ worth of one farthing.

Golde the reproachful badge of infamed perſons.

They gather alſo pearls by the ſea ſide, and Diamonds and Carbuncles vppon certaine Rockes, and yet they ſéeke not for them: but by chance finding them, they cut and poliſh them. And therewith they deck their yong infants. Which like as in the firſt yeares of their child hood, they make much, and be fond and proude of ſuch ornaments, ſo when they bee a little more growne in

Gemmes and precious ſtones for yong children to play withall.

yeares

yeares and discretion, perceiuing that none but children doo weare such toies and trifles: they lay them away euen of their owne shamefastenesse, without any bidding of their parents: euen as our children, when they wax big, doo cast away nuttes, brouches, and puppets. Therfore these lawes and customes, which be so far different from all other nations, how diuers fantasies also and mindes they doo cause, did I neuer so plainlie perceiue, as in the Ambassadours of the Anemolians.

These Ambassadours came to Amaurote, whiles I was there. And because they came to intreate of great and weightie matters, those three Cittizens a peece out of euerie Cittie, were come thither before them. But all the Ambassadours of the next countreys, which had beene there before, and knew the fashions and maners of the Vtopians, amõg whome they perceiued no honour giuen to sumptuous apparell, silkes to be contemned, golde also to bee infamed and reproachful, were wont to come thither in very homely and simple array. But the Anemolians because they dwell farre thence, and had very little acquaintance with them, hearing that they were al apparelled a like, and that verie rudely and homilie, thinking them not to haue the things which they did not weare: being therefore more proude, then wise, determined in the gorgiousnesse of their apparell to represent very gods, and with the bright shining and glistering of their gay cloathing, to dazel the eyes of the sillie poore Vtopians. A very pleasant tale.

So there came in foure Ambassadors with C. seruants, all apparelled in chaungeable colours: the most of them in silkes: the Ambassadours themselues (for at home in their owne countrey they were noble men) in cloath of gold, with great chains of gold, with gold hanging at their eares, with gold rings vppon their fingers, with brouches and aglets of gold vpon their cappes, which glistered full of pearles and precious stones: to be short, trimmed and adorned with all those things, which among the Vtopians were eyther the

punishment of bondmē, or the reproach of infamed persons, or else trifles for yong children to play withall. Therefore it woulde haue done a man good at his heart, to haue seene how proudlie they displayed theyr peacocks feathers, how much they made of their painted sheathes, and how loftilie they set forth and aduanced themselues, when they compared theyr gallaunt apparell, with the poore rayment of the Utopians. For all the people were swarmed forth into the streetes.

And on the other side, it was no lesse pleasure to consider how much they were deceiued, and how farre they missed of their purpose beeing contrary waies taken, then they thought they should haue beene. For to the eyes of all the Utopians, except very fewe, which had beene in other countreys, for some reasonable cause, all that gorgiousnesse of apparell, seemed shamefull and reproachfull. In so much that they most reuerently saluted the vilest and most abiect of them for lords: iudging them by their wearing of golden chaines to be bondmen. Yea you should haue fine children also, that had cast away their pearles and precious stones, when they sawe the like sticking vppon the Ambassadours cappes: digge and push their mothers vnder the sides, saying thus to them. Loke mother how great lubber doth yet weare pearles, and precious stones, as though hee were a little child still.

O wittie head,

But the mother, yea, and that also in good earnest: peace sonne, saith she: I thinke hee be soune of the Ambassadours fooles. Some found fault at their golden chaines, as to no vse nor purpose, being so small and weake, that a bondman might easilie breake them, and againe so wide and large, that when it pleased him, he might cast them off, and runne away at libertie whither he would. But when the Ambassadours had beene there, a day or two, and sawe so great aboundaunce of gold so lightlie esteemed, yea in no lesse reproach, then it was with them in honor: and besides y, more gold in the chaines and gifts of one fugitiue bondman, then

all the costly ornaments, of them three was worth: they began to abate their courage, and for very shame laid away al that gorgious array, whereof they were so proud. And specially when they had talked familiarly with the Utopians, and had learned all their fashions and opinions. For they meruaile that any men bee so folish, as to haue delight and pleasure in the doubtfull glistering of a little trifeling stone, which may beholde any of the starres, or else the sunne it selfe.

Doubtfull he calleth it, eyther in consideration & respect of counterfeit stones, or else he calleth doubtfull very little worth.

Or that any man is so madde, as to count himselfe the nobler for the smaller or finer threed of woll, which self same woll (be it now in neuer so fine spunne threed) a sheepe did once weare: and yet was shee all that time no other thing then a sheepe. They meruaile also that gold, which of the owne nature, is a thing so vnprofitable, is now among all people in so high estimation, that man himselfe, by whome yea and for the vse of whom it is so much set by, is in much lesse estimation, then the gold it selfe. In so much, that a lumpish blockhead churle, and which hath no more wit then an asse, yea and as full of naughtinesse, as of follie, shal haue neuertheless many wise and good men in subiection and bondage, onelie for this, because hee hath a great heape of gold.

A true saying and a wittie.

Which if it should be taken from him by any fortune, or by some subtil wyle and cautle of the law, (which no lesse then fortune doth both raise vp the lowe, and plucke downe the high) and be giuen to the most vile slaue and abiect driuell of all his household, then shortly after he shall go into the seruice of his seruant, as an augmentation nor ouerplus beside his money.

But they much more meruaile at and detest the madnesse of them, which to these rich men, in whose debt and daunger they be not, do giue almost diuine honours, for none other consideration, but because they be rich: and yet knowing them to bee such niggesh penney fathers, that they bee sure as long as they liue, not the worth of one far-

How much more wit is in the heads of the Vtopians then of the common sort of christians.

thing of that heape of gold, shall come to them. These and such like opinions haue they conceiued, partly by education, being brought vp in that common wealth, whose lawes and customes be farre different from those kindes of follie, and partly by good litterature and learning. For though there be not many in euery citie, which be exempt and discharged of all other labours, and appointed onelie to learning, that is to say: such in whome euen from their very childhode they haue perceiued a singuler towardnesse, a fine wit, and a mind apt to good learning: yet all in their childhod be instructed in learning. And the better part of the people, both men and wome̅ through out all their whole life, do bestowe in learning those spare houres, which we said they haue vacaunt from bodilie labours. They be taught learning in their owne natiue tongue. For it is both copious in words, and also pleasant to the eare: and for the vtterance of a mās mind very perfect and sure. The most part of all that side of the world, vseth the same language, sauing that among the Vtopians it is finest and purest, and according to the diuersitie of the countreys, it is diuersly altered. Of all these philosophers, whose names be heere famous in this part of the world to vs knowne, before our comming thither, not as much as the fame of any of them was come among them. And yet in musick, Logique Arythmetique, and Geometry, they haue found out in a maner all that our auncient Philosophers haue taught. But as they in all things be almost equall to our olde and ancient clarkes, so ouer newe Logicians in subtill inuentions, haue far passed and gone beyond them.

The studies and litura-ture among the Vtopi-ans.

Musicke Logike. Arithme-tique. Geometrie.

For they haue not deuised one of all those rules, of restrictions, amplifications, very wittilie inuented in ẏ small Logicalles, which heare our children in euery place do learne. Furthermore they were neuer yet able to find out the second intentions: in so much that none of thē all could euer see man himselfe in common, as they call him, though he be (as you know) bigger then euer was any giant, yea

In this place seemeth to be a nip-ping taunt.

and

and poynted to of vs euen with our finger. But they bee in the course of the starres, and the mouings of the heauenlye sphæres very expert and cunning. They haue also wittilie excogitated and deuised instruments of diuers fashions: wherein is exactlye comprehended and conteyned the mouings and sitations of the sunne, the moone, and of all the other starres, which appeare in their horizon. But as for the amities and dissentions of the planets, and all that deceitfull diuination of the starres, they neuer as much as dreamed thereof. Raynes, windes, and other courses of tẽpests, they know before by certaine tokens, which they haue learned by long vse and obseruation. But of the causes of all these things, and of the ebbing, flowing, and saltnesse of the sea, and finallie of the original beginning, and nature of heauen and of the world, they holde partly the same opinions that our olde Philosophers hold, and partly as our Philosophers vary among themselues, so they also, whiles they bring newe reasons of things, do disagree from all them, and yet among themselues in all poynts they do not accord. In that part of Philosophie, which intreateth of manners and vertue, their reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of ỹ good qualities of ỹ soule, of the bodie, and of fortune. And whether the name of goodnesse may be applied to all these, or onelie to the endowments and gifts of the soule. They reason of vertue and pleasure. But the chiefe and principall question is in what thing, be it one or mo the felicitie of man consisteth. But in this point they seeme almost too much giuen and inclined to the opinion of them, which defend pleasure, wherein they determine eyther all or the chiefest part of mans felicitie to rest. And (which is more to bee meruailed at) the defence of this so daintie and delicate an opinion, they fetch euen from their graue, sharpe, bitter, and rigorous religion. For they neuer dispute of felicitie or blessednesse, but they ioyne vnto the reasons of Philosophie certaine principles taken out of religion: without the which, to the inuestigation of true felicitie, they thinke

Astronomy

Yet among christians this geere is highly esteemed in these daies.

Naturall philosophie is a knowledge most vncertaine.

Morall philosophie.

The order of good things.

The ends of good things.

The Vtopians hold opinion that felicity consisteth in honest pleasure.

The principles of philosophie grounded vpon religion.

The theologie of the Vtopians.

The immortalitie of the ſoule, whereof theſe daies certaine chriſtians bee double.

reaſon of it ſelfe weake and vnperfect. Whoſe principles bee theſe and ſuch like. That the ſoule is immortall: and by the bountifull goodneſſe of God ordeyned to felicitie. That to our vertues and good deedes, rewards be appointed after this life, and to our euill deedes punishments. Though theſe be pertaining to religion, yet they thinke it meete that they ſhould be beleeued and graunted by prowes, of reaſon. But if theſe principles were condemned & diſanulled, then without any delay, they pronounce no man to be ſo fooliſh, which would not doo all his diligence and endeuour to obtaine pleaſure be it right or wrong, onelie auoiding this inconuenience, that the leſſe pleaſure ſhould not be a lette or hinderaunce to the bigger: or that hee laboured not for that pleaſure, which would bring after it diſpleaſure, greefe, and ſorrowe.

As euery plaſure ought not to be imbraced, ſo griefe is not to be purſued but for vertues ſake.

For they iudge it extreame madneſſe to followe ſharpe and painefull vertue, and not onelie to baniſh the pleaſure of life, but alſo willinglie to ſuffer greefe, without any hope of profit thereof enſuing. For what profit can there be, if a mã, when he hath paſſed ouer al his life vnpleaſantly, that is to ſay, miſerablie, ſhall haue no reward after his death? But now ſir, they thinke not felicitie to reſt in all pleaſure, but onelie in that pleaſure that is good and honeſt, and that herto, as to perfect bleſſednes our nature is allured and drawn euen of vertue, whereto onelie they that be of the contrarie opinion doo attribute felicitie. For they define vertue to bee life ordered according to nature, and that we be heere vnto ordeined of God. And that he doth followe the courſe of nature, which in deſiring & refuſing things is ruled by reaſon. Furthermore y reaſon doth chiefly & principallie kindle in men the loue & veneration of the diuine maieſtie. Of whoſe goodneſſe it is y we be, & that we be in poſſibilitie to attain felicitie. And y ſecondarilie it both ſtirreth & prouoketh vs to lead our life out of care in ioy and mirth, and alſo moueth vs to helpe and further all other in reſpect of the ſocietie of nature to obtaine and enioy the ſame. For there was neuer

In this definition of vertue they agree with the Stoyci-ans.

The worke and effect of reaſon in man.

man

man so earnest and painefull a follower of vertue and hater of pleasure, that would so inioyne you labours, watchings, and fastings, but he would also exhort you to ease, lighten, relæue, to your powre, the lacke and misery of others, praysing the same as a dæde of humanitie, and pittie. Then if it be a point of humainitie, for man to bring health and comfort to man, and specially (which is a vertue most peculiarly belonging to man) to mittigate and allwage the griefe of others, and by taking from them the sorrow and heauinesse of life, to restore them to ioy, that is to say to pleasure: which may it not then be said, that nature doth prouoke euerie mã to dw the same to himselfe? For a ioyfull life, that is to say, a pleasaunt life is either euill: and if it be so, then thou shouldest not onelie helpe no man thereto, but rather, as much as in thæ lieth, withdraw al men from it, as noysome and hurtfull, or else if thou not onely must, but also of dutie art bound to procure it to others: why not chiefely to thy selfe? To whom thou art bound to shewe as much fauour and gentlenesse as to other. For when nature biddeth thæ to bee good and gentle to other, she commandeth thæ not to be cruell and vngentle to thy selfe. Therefore euen very nature (say they) prescribeth to vs a ioyfull life, that is to say, pleasure as the end of all our operations. And they define vertue to bee life ordered according to the prescript of nature. But in that, that nature doth allure and prouoke men one to helpe an other to liue merrilie (which surely shee doth not without a good cause: for no man is farre aboue the lot of mans state, or condition, that nature doth carke and care for him onelie, which equallie fauoureth all, that he comprehended vnder the communion of one shape, forme and fashion) verilie shee commandeth them to vse diligent circumspection, that thou doe not seeke for thine owne commodities, that thou procure others incommodities. Wherefore their opinion is, that not onelie couenants and bargaines made among priuate men, ought to bee well and faithfullie followed, obserued, and kept, but also common

But now a daies some there bee that willingly procure vnto themselues painefull griefes, as though therein rested some high point of religion, whereas rather the religiously disposed person, if they happe to him either by chance or else by naturall necessitie, ought patiently to receiue and suffer them. Bargaines and lawes.

men lawes, which eyther a good prince hath iuſtlye publiſhed, or elſe the people neyther oppreſſed with tyrannie, neyther deceiued by fraude and guile, hath by their commõ conſent conſtituted and ratified, concerning the partition of the commoditie of life, that is to ſay, the matter of pleaſure.

Theſe lawes not offended, it is wiſdome, that thou looke to thine owne wealth. And to doo the ſame for the common wealth is no leſſe then thy dutie, if thou beareſt any reuerent loue, or any naturall zeale and affection to thy native countrey. But to go about to let an other man of his pleaſure, whiles thou procureſt thine owne, that is open wrong. Contrariwiſe, to withdrawe ſomething from thy ſelfe to giue to other, that is a point of humanitie, and gentlenеſſe: which neuer taketh away ſo much commoditie, as it bringeth againe. For it is recompenced with the returne of benefits, and the conſcience of the good deede, with the remembraunce of the thankfull loue and beneuolence of them, to whome thou haſt doone it, doth bring more pleaſure to thy mind, then that which thou haſt withholden from thy ſelfe could haue brought to thy body. Finallie (which to a godlie diſpoſed and a religious mind is eaſie to be perſwaded) God recompenſeth the gift of a ſhort & ſmall pleaſure with great and euerlaſting ioy.

The mutuall recourſe of kindnes

Therefore the matter diligentlie weyed, and conſidered, thus they thinke, that all our actions, and in them the vertues themſelues, be referred at the laſt to pleaſure, as their end and felicitie. Pleaſure they call euery motion, and ſtate of the body or mind, wherein a man hath naturallie delectation. Appetite they ioyne to nature, and that not without a good cauſe. For like as, not onely the ſenſes, but alſo right reaſon coueteth whatſoeuer is naturallie pleaſaunt, ſo that it may be gotten without wrong or iniurie, not letting or debarring a greater pleaſure, nor cauſing painefull labour, euen ſo, thoſe things that men, by vaine imagination doo fayne againſt nature to bee pleaſaunt (as though it laye in

The diffinition of pleaſure.

their

their power to chaunge the things, as they do the names of things) all such pleasures they beleeue to be of so small helpe and furtheraunce to felicitie, that they count them a great let and hinderaunce. Because that in whom they haue once taken place, al his mind they possesse with a false opinion of pleasure. So that there is no place left for true and natural delectations. False and counterfeit pleasures.

For there be many things, which of their owne nature containe no pleasantnesse: yea the most part of them much greefe and sorrowe. And yet through the peruerse and malicious flickering inticements of leaude and honest desires, be taken not onely for speciall and souereigne pleasures, but also be counted among the chiefe causes of life. In this counterfeit kind of pleasure, they put them that I spake of before. Which the better gowns they haue on, the better men they thinke themselues. In the which thing, they do twise erre. For they be no lesse deceiued, in that they thinke their gown the better then then they bee, in that they thinke themselues the better. The errour of thē that seeme themselues the more for apparels sake.

For if you consider the profitable vse of the garment, why should woll of a finer spunne threed, be thought better, then the woll of a course spunne threed? Yet they, as though the one did passe the other by nature, and not by their mistaking, aduance themselues, and thinke the price of their own persons thereby greatly increased. And therefore the honor, which in a course gowne they durst not haue looked for, they require, as it were of dutie, for their finer gownes sake. And if they be passed by without reuerence, they take it displeasantly and disdainefully. And againe, is it not a like madnesse to take a pride in vaine and vnprofitable honors? For what naturall or true pleasure dost thou take of an other mans bare head, or bowed knees? Will this ease the paine of thy knees, or remedie the phrensie of thy head? In this image of counterfeit pleasure, they be of meruailous madnesse, which for the opinion of nobilitie, reioyce much in their owne conceit. Because it was their fortune to come Foolish honours. Vaine nobilitie.

of ſuch auncеſtours, whoſe ſtocke of long time hath beene counted rich (for now nobilitie is nothing elſe) ſpecially rich in lands. And though their ancitours feit them not one foote of land, or elſe they themſelues haue piſſed it againſt the walles, yet they thinke themſelues not the leſſe noble therefore of one haire. In this number alſo they count them that take pleaſure and delight (as I ſaide) in gemmes and precious ſtones, and thinke themſelues almoſt gods, if they chaunce to gette an excellent one, ſpecially of that kinde, which in that time of their owne countrey-men, is had in higheſt eſtimation.

Pleaſure in precious ſtones moſt fooliſh.

For one kinde of ſtone keepeth not his price ſtill in all countries, and at all times. Nor they buye them not, but taken out of the gold, and bare: no, nor ſo neyther, vntil they haue made the ſeller to ſweare, that he will warrant and aſſure it to be a true ſtone, and no counterfeit gemme. Such care they take leaſt a counterfeit ſtone ſhould deceiue their eyes in ſtead of a right ſtone. But why ſhouldeſt thou not take euen as much pleaſure in beholding a coũterfeit ſtone, which thine eye cannot diſcerne from a right ſtone? They ſhoulde both bee of like value to thée, euen as to the blinde man.

The opinion and fanſie of people doth augment and diminiſh the price and eſtimation of precious ſtones.

Beholders of treaſure, not occupying the ſame.

What ſhall I ſay of them, that keepe ſuperfluous riches, to take delectation onely in the beholding, and not in the vſe or occupying thereof? Do they take true pleaſure, or elſe be they deceiued with falſe pleaſure? Or of them that be in a contrary vice, hiding the gold which they ſhall neuer occupie, nor peraduenture neuer ſée him more? And whiles they take care leaſt they ſhall léeſe it, do léeſe it indéede. For what is it elſe, when they hide it in the ground, taking it both from their own vſe, and perchance from al other mens alſo? And yet thou, when thou haſt hid thy treaſure, as one out of al care, hopeſt for ioy. The which treaſure, if it ſhould chaunce to be ſtolen, and thou ignorant of the theft, ſhouldeſt dye tenne yeares after: all that tenne yeares that thou liuedſt after thy money was ſtolen, what matter was it to

Hiders of treaſure.

A pretie fiction and a witti.

thée,

thée, whether it had beene taken away or else safe as thou leftest it? Truly both wayes like profit came to thée. To these so foolish pleasures they ioyne dicers, whose madnesse they knowe by hearesay, and not by vse. Hunters also, and hawkers.

For what pleasure is there (say they) in casting the dice vpon a table. Which thou hast done so often, that if there were any pleasure in it, yet ỹ oft vse might make thée wearie thereof? Or what delight can there be, and not rather displeasure in hearing ỹ barking and howling of dogs? Or what greater pleasure is there to bee felt, when a dogge followeth an hare, then when a dogge followeth a dogge? for one thing is done in both, that is to say, running, if thou hast pleasure therein. But if the hope of slaughter, and the expectation of tearing in péeces the beast doth please thée: thou shouldest rather bee moued with pittie to sée a selie innocent hare murdered of a dogge: the weake of the stronger, the fearefull of the fearce, the innocent of the cruell and vnmercifull. Therefore all this exercise of hunting, as a thing vnworthie to bee vsed of frée men, the Vtopians haue reiected to their bouchers, to the which craft (as we said before) they appoint their bondmen. For they count hunting the lowest, the vilest, and most abiect part of boucherie, and the other partes of it, more profitable, and more honest, as bringing much more cõmodity, in that they kil beasts onelie for necessitie.

Dice play.

Hunting and hawking.

Hunting the basest part of boucherie among the Vtopians, and yet this is now the exercise of most noble men.

Whereas the hunter séeketh nothing but pleasure of the selie and wofull beastes slaughter and murder. The which pleasure in beholding death, they thinke doth rise in the very beastes, eyther of a cruell affection of mind, or else to be changed into continuance of time into crueltie, by long vse of so cruell a pleasure. These therefore and all such like, which be innumerable, though the common sort of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, seeing there is no naturall pleasantnes in thẽ, do plainly determine thẽ to haue no

affinitie with true and right pleaſure. For as touching that they doo commonly moue the ſences with delectation (which ſeemeth to bee a worke of pleaſure) this doth nothing diminiſh their opinion. For not the nature of the thing, but their peruerſe and leaud cuſtome is the cauſe hereof. Which cauſeth thē to except bitter or ſower things for ſweet things. Euen as women with child in their viciat and corrupt taſte, thinke pitch and tallowe ſweeter then any honey. Howbeit no mans iudgement depraued and corrupt, eyther by ſickneſſe, or by cuſtome, can chaunge the nature of pleaſure, more then it can doo the nature of other things. They make diuers kindes of pleaſures. For ſome they attribute to the ſoule, and ſome to the body. To the ſoule they giue intelligence, and that delectation, that commeth of the contemplation of truth.

The kindnes of true pleaſures.

Hereunto is ioyned the pleaſant remembrance of the good life paſt. The pleaſure of the body they diuide into two parts. The firſt is, when delectation is ſenſibly felt and perceiued: which many times chaunceth by the renewing and refreſhing of thoſe parts, which our naturall heat drieth vp. This commeth by meate and drinke. And ſometimes whiles thoſe things bee expulſed, and voyded, whereof is in the body ouer great aboundance. This pleaſure is felt, whē we doo our naturall eaſement, or when we be doing the act of generation, or when the ytching of any part is eaſed with rubbing or ſcratching. Sometimes pleaſure riſeth exhibiting to any member nothing that it deſireth, nor taking from it any paine that it feeleth, which neuertheleſſe tickleth and moueth our ſences with a certaine ſecret efficacie, but with a manifeſt motion turneth them to it. As is that which commeth of muſicke. The ſecond part of bodilie pleaſure they ſay, is that which conſiſteth and reſteth in the quiet and vpright ſtate of the body. And that trulie is euery mans owne proper health, enterminglcd and diſturbed with no grief. For this, if it be not letted nor aſſaulted with no grief, is delectable of it ſelfe, though it be moued with no externall

The pleaſures of the body.

Bodily health.

or

or outward pleasure. For though it be not so plaine and manifest to the sence, as the greedie lust of eating and drinking, yet neuertheless, many take it for the chiefest pleasure. All the Vtopians grant it to be a right soueraigne pleasure, and as you woulde say the foundation and grounde of all pleasures, as which euen alone is able to make the state and condition of life delectable and pleasaunt. And it beeing once taken away, there is no place left for any pleasure. For to be without greefe not hauing health, that they call vnsensibilitie, and not pleasure.

The Vtopians haue long agoe reiected and condemned the opinion of them, which saide that stedfast and quiet health, (for this question also hath beene diligently debated among them) ought not therefore to be counted a pleasure, because they say it cannot bee presently and sensiblie perceiued and felt by some outward motion. But of the contrary part, now they agree almost all in this, that health is a most soueraigne pleasure. For seeing that in sickneese (say they) is greefe, which is a mortall enemie to pleasure, euen as sickneese is to health, why should not then pleasure be in the quietnesse of health? For they say it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you say that sickneese is a greefe, or that in sickneese is greefe, for all commeth to one purpose.

For whether health be a pleasure it selfe, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fier is of heate, truelie both waies it followeth, that they cannot be without pleasure, that be in perfect health. Furthermore whiles wee eate (say they) then health, which began to be appayred, fighteth by the helpe of foode against hunger. In the which fight, whiles health by little and little getteth the vpper hand, that same proceeding, and (as ye wold say) that onwardnes to the wont strength, ministreth that pleasure, wherby we be so refreshed. Health therefore, which in the conflict is ioyfull, shall it not bee merrie, when it hath gotten the victorie? But assoone as it hath recouered the pristinate strength, which thing onely

in all the ſight it couetted, ſhall it incontinent be aſtonied? Nor ſhall it not knowe nor imbrace the owne wealth and goodneſſe? For where it is ſaid, health cannot be felt, this they thinke is nothing true. For what man waking, ſay they, feeleth not himſelfe in health, but he that is not? Is there any man ſo poſſeſſed with ſtonith inſenſibilitie, or with lethargie, that is to ſay, the ſleeping ſickneſſe, that hee will not graunt health to be acceptable to him, and delectable? But what other thing is delectation, then that which by an other name is called pleaſure? They imbrace chiefly the pleaſures of the minde. For them they count the cheefeſt and moſt principall of all. The chiefe part of theſe they think doth come of the exerciſe of vertue, and conſcience of good life. Of theſe pleaſures that the bodie miniſtreth, they giue the preheminence to health. For the delight of eating and drinking, and whatſoeuer hath any like pleaſantneſſe, they determine to be pleaſures much to be deſired, but no otherwaies then for healthes ſake. For ſuch things of their owne proper nature be not ſo pleaſant, but in that they reſiſt ſickneſſe priuily ſtealing on. Therefore like as it is a wiſe mans part, rather to auoyd ſickneſſe, then to wiſh for medicines, and rather to driue away and put to flight carefull griefes, then to call for comfort: ſo it is much better not to need this kinde of pleaſure, then thereby to be eaſed of the contrarie griefe. The which kinde of pleaſure, if any man take for his felicitie, that man muſt needes graunt, that then he ſhall be in moſt felicitie, if he liue that life, which is ledde in continuall hunger, thirſt, itching, eating, drinking, ſcratching, and rubbing. The which life, how not only foule and vnhoneſt, but alſo how miſerable and wretched it is, who perceiueth not? Theſe doubtleſſe be the baſeſt pleaſures of all, as vnpure and vnperfect. For they neuer come, but accompanied with their contrary griefes. As with the pleaſure of eating, is ioyned hunger, and that after no very equall ſort. For of theſe two, the griefe is both the more vehement, and alſo of longer continuance.

Delectations. The pleaſures of the minde.

For

For it beginneth before the pleasure, and endeth not vntill the pleasure die with it. Wherfore such pleasures they think not greatly to be set by, but in that they be necessary. Howbeit they haue delight also in these, and thankfully knowledge the tender loue of mother nature, which with most pleasaunt delectation allureth her children to that, to the necessary vse whereof, they must from time to time continually be forced and driuen. For how wretched and miserable should our life be, if these daily griefes of hunger and thirst could not be driuē away, but with bitter potions, and sowre medicines, as the other diseases be, wherewith we be sildomer troubled? But bewtie, strength, nimblenesse, these as peculiar and pleasaunt giftes of nature, they make much off. The gifts of nature.

But those pleasures that be receiued by the eares, the eyes, and the nose, which nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other liuing creature doth behold the fairnesse and the bewtie of the world, or is moued with any respect of sauours, but onely for the diuersitie of meates, neyther perceiueth the concordant and discordant distances of soundes and tunes) these pleasures, I say, they accept and allowe as certaine pleasaunt reioycings of life. But in all things this cautell they vse, that a lesse pleasure hinder not a bigger, and that the pleasure bee no cause of displeasure, which they thinke to follow of necessitie, if the pleasure be vnhonest. But yet to despise the comelinesse of bewtie, to waste the bodely strength, to turne nimblenesse into slothfulnesse: to consume and make feeble the bodie with fasting: to do iniury to health, and to reiect the pleasaunt motions of nature, vnlesse a man neglect these commodities, whiles he doth with a feruent zeale procure the wealth of others, or the common profit, for the which pleasure forborne, he is in hope of a greater pleasure at Gods hand: else for a vaine shadow of vertue, for the wealth & profit of no man, to punish himself, or to the intent he may be able couragiously to suffer aduersitie, which perchance shall neuer come to him: this

to

to do, they thinke it a poynt of extreame madnesse, and a token of a man cruelly minded towards himselfe, and vnkind towards nature, as one so disdaining to be in her daunger, that he renounceth and refuseth all her benefites. This is their sentence and opinion of vertue and pleasure. And they beleeue that by mans reason none can be found truer then this, vnlesse any godlier be inspired into man from heauen. Wherein whether they beleeue well or no, neither the time doth suffer vs to discusse, neither it is now necessarie. For we haue taken vppon vs to shewe and declare their lores and ordinances, and not to defend them. But this thing I beleeue verely, how soeuer these decrees be, that there is in no place of the world, neyther a more excellent people, neyther a more flourishing common wealth. They be light and quicke of body, full of actiuitie and nimblenesse, and of more strength then a man would indge them by their stature, which for al that is not to lowe. And though their soyle bee not very fruitfull, nor their ayre very wholsome, yet against the ayre they so defend them with temperate diet, and so order and husband their ground with diligent trauaile, that in no countrey is greater increase and plentie of corne and cattle, nor mens bodies of longer life, and subiect or apt to fewer diseases. There therefore a man may see well, and diligently ployted and furnished, not onelie those things which husbandmen do commonly in other countries, as by craft & cunning to remedy the barrennesse of the ground, but also a whole wood by the handes of the people plucked vp by the rootes in one place, & set againe in an other place. Wherein was had regard and consideration, not of plenty, but of commodious carriage, that wood and timber might be nigher to the sea, or the riuers, or the cities. For it is lesse labour and busines to carrie grayne farre by land, then wood. The people be gentle, merrie, quicke and fine witted, delighting in quietnesse, and when neede requireth, able to abide and suffer much bodily labour. Else they be not greatly desirous and fond of it: but in the exercise and studie of

Marke this well.

The wealth and description of the Vtopians.

the

the mind they be neuer wearie. When they had heard mee speake of the greeke literature or learning (for in latin there was nothing that I thought they would greatly allowe, besides historiens & poets) they made wonderfull earnest and importunate sute vnto me that I would teache and instruct them in that tongue and learning. I began therfore to read vnto them, at the first truly, more because I would not seeme to refuse the labour, then that I hoped that they would any thing profit therein. But when I had gone forward a little, I perceiued incontinent by their diligence, that my labour should not be bestowed in vaine. For they began so easily to fashion their letters, so plainlie to pronounce the wordes, so quicklie to learne by heart, and so surelie to rehearse the same, that I meruailed at it, sauing that the most part of them were fine, and chosen wittes, and of ripe age, picked out of the companie of the learned men, which not onelie of their owne free and voluntarie wil, but also by the commandement of the counsaile, vndertooke to learne this language. Therfore in lesse then three yeares space, there was nothing in the greeke tongue that they lacked. They were able to reade good authors without any staye, if the booke were not false. This kind of learning, as I suppose, they tooke so much the sooner, because it is somewhat alliaunt to them. For I thinke that this nation tooke their beginning of the greekes, because their speeche, which in all other points is not much vnlike the Persian tongue, keeping diuers signes and tokens of the greeke language in the names of their Cities, and of their magistrates. They haue of me (for when I was determined to enter into my fourth voyage, I cast into the ship in the stead of merchandise a pretie farsle of bookes, because I intended to come againe rather neuer, then shortly) they haue, I say of me, the most part of Platoes works, more of Aristotles, also Theophrastus of plantes, but in diuers places (which I am sorie for) vnperfect. For whiles wee were a ship-bord, a Marmoset chaunced vpon the booke, as it was negligently laide by, which wantonly playing there-

A wonderfull aptnesse to learning in the Vtopians.

But now most blockheaded asses be set to learning, and most pregnant wits corrupt with pleasures.

with plucked out certaine leaues, and tore them in péeces. Of them that haue written the grammer, they haue onelie Laſcaris. For Theodorus I caried not with me, nor neuer a dictionarie, but Heſichius, and Dioſcorides. They ſette great ſtore by Plutarches bookes. And they be delighted with Lucianes merry conceits and ieaſts. Of the poets they haue Ariſtophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles in Aldus ſmal print. Of the Hiſtorians they haue Thucidides, Herodotus, and Herodian. Alſo my companion, Tricius Apinatus carried with him phiſicke bookes, certaine ſmall workes of Hippocrates, and Galens Microtechne. The which booke they haue in great eſtimatiõ. For though there be almoſt no nation vnder heauen that hath leſſe néede of Phiſicke then they, yet this notwithſtanding, Phiſicke is no where in greater honour. Becauſe they count the knowledge of it among the goodlyeſt, and moſt profitable partes of Philoſophie. For whiles they by the helpe of this philoſophy ſearch out the ſecret miſteries of nature, they thinke themſelues to receiue thereby not onely wonderfull great pleaſure, but alſo to obtaine great thankes and fauour of the authour and maker thereof. Whom they thinke according to the faſhion of other artificers, to haue ſet forth the meruailous and gorgious frame of the world for man, with great affection, intentiuely to behold. Whom onely he hath made of wit, and capacity to conſider and vnderſtand the excellencie of ſo great a worke. And therefore he beareth (ſay they) more good will and loue to the curious and diligent beholder, and vewer of his worke and meruailour at the ſame, then he doth to him, which like a very brut beaſt without wit and reaſon, or as one without ſenſe or mouing, hath no regard to ſo great and ſo wonderfull a ſpectacle. The wits therefore of the Vtopians inured and exerciſed in learning, be maruailous quick in the inuention of feates, helping any thing to the aduantage & wealth of life. Howbeit two feates they may thanke vs for. That is, the ſcience of imprinting, and ỹ craft of making paper. And yet not onely vs, but chiefly

Phiſicke highly regarded.

The contemplation of nature.

lie and principallie themselues. For when we shewed to thē Aldus his print in bookes of paper, and told them of the stuffe whereof paper is made, and of the feate of grauing letters, speaking somewhat more, then wee could plainely declare (for there was none of vs, that knewe perfectly eyther the one or the other) they forthwith very wittily coniectured the thing. And where as before, they wrote onelie in skins, in barks of trées, and in rædes, now they haue attempted to make paper, and to imprint letters. And though at the first it proued not all of the best, yet by often assaying the same, they shortly got the feate of both. And haue so brought the matter about, that if they had copies of Græke authors, they could lacke no bookes. But now they haue no more, then I rehearsed before, sauing that by printing of books, they haue multiplied and increased the same into many thousands of coppies. Whosoeuer commeth thither to sée the land, being excellent in any gift of wit, or through much and long iourneying, wel experienced and seene in the knowledge of many countries (for the which cause we were very welcome to them) him they receiue and entertain wondrous gently, and louingly. For they haue delight to heare what is don in euery land, howbeit very few marchant men come thither. For what should they bring thither, vnlesse it were yron, or else gold and siluer, which they had rather carrie home againe? Also such things as are to be carried out of their land, they think it more wisedome to carie that géere forth themselues, then that other should come thither to fetch it, to the intent they may the better knowe the out landes on euery side of them, and kéepe in vre the feate and knowledge of sailing.

Of bondmen, ſicke perſons, wedlocke, and diuers other matters.

A meruailous equitie of this nation.

They neither make bondmẽ of priſoners takẽ in battaile, vnleſſe it be in battaile that they fought them ſelues, nor of bondmens children, nor to be ſhort, of any ſuch as they cã get out of forreigne countries, though he were there a bõdman. But eyther ſuch, as among themſelues for heynous offences be punished with bondage, or elſe ſuch, as in the Citties of other lands for great treſpaſſes be condemned to death. And of this ſort of bondmen they haue moſt store.

For many of them they bring home ſometimes, paying very little for them, yea moſt commonly getting them for gramercie. Theſe ſorts of bondmen they keepe not onely in continuall worke, and labour, but alſo in bands. But their owne men they handle hardeſt, whom they iudge more deſperate, and to haue deſerued greater punishment, becauſe they being ſo godlie brought vp to vertue in ſo excellent a common wealth, coulde not for all that bee refrayned from miſdoing. An other kind of bondmen they haue, when a vile drudge beeing a poore labourer in an other Countrey, doth chooſe of his owne free will to be a bondman among them. Theſe they intreat and order honeſtly, & entertaine almoſt as gentlely, as their owne free citizens, ſauing that they put them to a litle more labour, as thereto accuſtomed. If any ſuch, be diſpoſed to depart thence (which ſeldome is ſeene) they

they neither hold him against his will, neither send him away with emptie hands. The sicke (as I saide) they see to with great affection, and let nothing at all passe, concerning eyther Physicke or good diet, whereby they may bee restored againe to their health. Such as be sicke of incurable diseases, they comfort with sitting by them, and to be short, with all manner of helpes that may be. But if the disease be not onely vncurable, but also ful of continual paine and anguish, then the priestes and the magistrates exhort the man, seeing he is not able to doo any dutie of life, and by ouerliuing, his owne death is noysome & vnkesome to other, and greeuous to himselfe: that he will determine with himselfe no longer to cherish that pestilent and painefull disease. And seeing his life is to him but a torment, that he will not be vnwilling to die, but rather take a good hope to him, and eyther dispatch himselfe out of that painful life, as out of a prison, or a racke of torment, or else suffer himselfe willingly to bee ridde out of it by other. And in so doing, they tel him he shall doo wisely, seeing by his death he shall lose no commoditie, but ende his paine. And because in that act he shall followe the counsaile of the priestes, that is to say, of the interpreters of gods will and pleasure, they shew him that he shal doo like a godly and a vertuous man. They that be thus perswaded, finish their liues willingly, eyther with hunger, or else dye in their sleepe without any feeling of death. But they cause none such to die against his will, nor they vse no lesse diligence and attendance about him: beleeuing this to be an honorable death. Else he that killeth himselfe before that the priests and the counsaile haue allowed ỹ cause of his death, him as vnworthie eyther to be buried, or with fier to bee consumed, they cast vnburied into some stinking marrish.

Of the that be sicke.

Voluntary death.

Of wedlock.

The woman is not maried before she bee eightéene yeares old.

The man is foure yeares elder before he marrie. If eyther the man or the woman bee proued to haue actually offended before their marriage, with an other, the partie that

ſo hath treſpaſſed, is ſharpely puniſhed. And both the offenders, be forbidden euer after in al their life to marrie: vnleſſe the fault be forgiuen by the princes pardon. Both the good man and the good wife of the houſe, where that offence was committed, as being ſlacke and negligent in loking to their charge, bee in daunger of great reproach, and infamie. That offence is ſo ſharpely puniſhed, becauſe they perceiue, that vnleſſe they be diligently kept from the libertie of this vice, fewe will ioyne togither in the loue of marriage, wherein al the life muſt be led with one, and alſo all the greefes and diſpleaſures comming therewith paciently be taken and born. Furthermore in chooſing wiues and huſbands, they obſerue earneſtly and ſtraightly a cuſtome, which ſeemed to vs very fond and fooliſh. For a lad and an honeſt patron ſheweth the woman, be ſhee maide or widdowe, naked to the woer. And likewiſe a ſage and diſcreete man, exhibiteth the woer naked to the woman. At this cuſtome we laughed, and diſallowed it as fooliſh. But they on the other parte doo greatly wonder at the follye of all other nations, which in buying a colte, whereas a little money is in hazarde, bee ſo chayre and circumſpect, that though hee bee almoſt all bare, yet they will not buye him, vnleſſe the ſaddle and all the harneſſe bee taken off, leaſt vnder thoſe couerings bee hidde, ſome gall or ſore. And yet in chooſing a wife, which ſhalbe eyther pleaſure or diſpleaſure to them all their life after, they be ſo recheleſſe, that all the reſidue of the womans body beeing couered with cloathes, they eſteeme her ſcarcely be one hande breadth (for they can ſee no more but her face) and ſo to ioyne her to them not without great ieoperdie of euill agreeing togither, if any thing in in her body afterward ſhould chaunce to offend and miſlike them.

Though not very honeſtly, yet not vnwiſelie.

For al men be not ſo wiſe, as to haue reſpect to the vertuous conditions of the partie. And the endowments of the body, cauſe the vertues of the mind more to be eſteemed and regarded: yea euen the marriages of wiſe men. Verily

ſo

so foule deformitie may be hid vnder those couerings, that it may quite alienate and take away the mans minde from his wife, when it shall not be lawfull for their bodies to bee seperate againe. If such deformitie happen by any chaunce after the marriage is consummate and finished, well, therein no remedie but patience. Euery man must take his fortune well in worth. But it were well doone that a lawe were made wherby all such deceits might be eschewed, and auoided before hand.

And this were they constrained more earnestlye to loke vpon, because they onelie of the nations in that part of the, world be content euery man with one wife a piece. And matrimonie is there neuer broken, but by death: except adulterie breake the bond, or else the intollerable wayward manners of eyther partie. For if either of them find themselues for any such cause grieued, they may by the licence of the counsaile, chaunge and take an other. But the other partie liueth euer after in infamie, and out of wedlocke. Howbeit the husbande to put away his wife for no other fault, but for that some mishappe is fallen to her body, this by no meanes they will suffer. For they iudge it a great poynt of crueltie, that any bodie in their most nede of helpe and comfort, shoulde bee cast off and forsaken, and that olde age, which both bringeth sickneſſe with it, and is a sickneſſe it selfe, shoulde vnkindlie and vnfaithfully be delt withall. But now and then it chaunceth, whereas the man and the woman cannot well agree betweene themselues, both of them finding other, with whome they hope to liue more quietlie and merrilie, that they by the full consent of them both, bee diuorced a sunder and maried againe to other. But that not without the authoritie of the counsaile. Which agreeth to no diuorses, before they and their wiues haue diligently tryed and examined the matter. Yea and then also they be loath to consent to it, because they know this to bee the next way to breake loue betweene man & wife, to be in easie hope of a new mariage. Breakers

Diuorsement

of

of wedlocke be punished with most grieuous bondage. And if both the offenders were married, then the parties which in that behalf haue suffered wrong, being diuorced from the adultrers, be maried togither, if they will, or else to whome they lust. But if eyther of them both doo still continue in loue toward so vnkind a bedfellow, the vse of wedlocke is not to them forbidden, if the partie faultlesse be disposed to followe in toyling and drudgerie, the person, which for that offence is condemned to bondage. And very oft it chanceth, that the repentaunce of the one, and the earnest diligence of the other, doth so moue the Prince with pitie and compassion, that hee restoreth the bonde person from seruitude, to libertie and freedome againe. But if the same partie bee taken eftsoones in that fault, there is no other way but death. To other trespasses no prescript punishment is appointed by any law. But according to the heynousnesse of the offence, or contrary, so the punishment is moderated by the discretion of the counsaile. The husbands chastice their wiues, and the parents their children, vnlesse they haue done any so horrible an offence, that the open punishment thereof maketh much for the aduancemēt of honest maners.

The decerning of punishment, put to the discretion of the magistrates.

But most commonly the most heynous faults be punished with the incommoditie of bondage. For that they suppose to be to the offenders no lesse greefe, and to the commō wealth more profit, then if they should hastily put them to death, and so make them quite out of the way. For there commeth more profit of their labour, then of their death, and by their example they feare other the longer from like offēces. But if they beeing thus vsed, doo rebell and kicke again, then forsooth they be slaine as desperat & wild beasts, whom neither prison nor chaine could restraine and keepe vnder. But they, which take their bondage patiently, be not left all hopelesse. For after they haue bene broken and tamed with long miseries, if then they shewe such repentaunce, as therby it may bee perceiued that they be sorryer for their offence

then

then for their punishment: sometimes by the Princes prerogatiue, and sometimes by the voice and consent of the people, their bondage eyther is mittigated, or else cleane released and forgiuen. He y moueth to adultery is in no lesse daunger and ieoperdie, then if he had committed adulterie in deede. For in all offences they count the intent and pretensed purpose as euill, as the act or deed it selfe, thinking that no let ought to excuse him, that did his best to haue no lette. They haue singular delight and pleasure in fooles. And as it is a great reproach to doo to any of them hurt or iniurie, so they prohibite not to take pleasure of foolishnesse. For that, they thinke, doth much good to the fooles. And if any man be so sad & sterne, that he cannot laugh neither at their words, nor at their deedes, none of them be committed to his tuition: for feare least he would not intreate them gentlelie and fauourably enough: to whom they should bring no delectation (for other goodnesse in them is none) much lesse any profit should they yeelde him. To mocke a man for his deformitie, or for that he lacketh any part or limme of his bodie, is counted great dishonestie and reproach, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh. Which vnwisely doth imbrayd any man of that as a vice, that was not in his power to eschew. Also as they count and recken very little wit to bee in him, that regardeth not naturall bewtie and comelinesse, so to helpe the same with paintings, is taken for a vaine and a wanton pride, not without great infamie. For they know euen by very experience, that no comelinesse of bewtie doth so highly commend and aduance the wiues in the conceits of their husbands, as honest conditions & lowlinesse. For as loue is oftentimes wonne with bewtie, so it is not kept, preserued, and continued, but by vertue and obedience. They do not onely feare their people from doing euill by punishments, but also allure them to vertue with rewards of honour. Therefore they set vp in the market place the Images of notable men, and of such as haue bin great and bountifull benefactors to the Comunon-wealth, for the

Motion to adultry punished.

Pleasure of fooles.

Counterfeit beautie.

Sinne punished, and vertue rewarded.

perpetuall memorie of their good acts: and also that the glorie and renowme of the auncestors may stirre and prouoke their posteritie to vertue. He that inordinatly and ambitiously desireth promotions, is left all hopeless for euer atteining any promotion as long as he liueth. They liue togither louingly. For no magistrate is either hawtie or fearefull. Fathers they be called, and like fathers they vse themselues. The citizens (as it is their dutie) willingly exhibit vnto them due honour without any compulsion. Nor the prince himselfe is not knowne from the other by princely apparell, or a robe of state, nor by a crowne or diademe royall, or cap of mainteinance, but by a litle sheafe of corn caried before him. And so a taper of wax is born before ỹ bishop, whereby onelie he is knowne. They haue but fewe lawes. For to people so instruct and institute very fewe do suffice. Yea this thing they chiefely reprowue among other ations, that innumerable bookes of lawes & expositions vpon the same be not sufficient. But they thinke it against all right and iustice ỹ men should be bound to those lawes, which either be in number mo then be able to be read, or else blinder and darker, then that any man can wel vnderstād thē. Furthermore they vtterly exclude and banish all atturnies, proctours, & sergeants at the law: which craftily handle matters, & subtillie dispute of the lawes. For they thinke it most meete, that euerie man should pleade his owne matter, and tell the same tale to the iudge that he would tell to his man of law. So shall there be lesse circumstance of words, & the truth shall sooner come to light, whiles the iudge with a discrete iudgement doth way the words of him, whom no lawier hath instruct with deceit, and whiles he helpeth and beareth out simple wits against the false and malicious circumuentions of craftie children. This is hard to be obserued in other countries, in so infinit a number of blind and intricate lawes. But in Vtopia euery man is a cunning lawyer. For as (I said) they haue very fewe lawes: and the plainer & grosser that any interpretation is: that they allowe as most iust. For al lawes (say they)

The inordinate desire of honours cōdemned.

Magistrates honoured.

Fewe lawes.

The multitude of lawyers superfluous.

The intent of lawes.

be made and published onely to the intent, that by them euery man should be put in remembrance of his dutie. But the craftie and subtill interpretation of them (forasmuch as fewe can attain thereto) can put very fewe in that remembrance, where as the simple, the plaine, and grosse meaning of the lawes is open to euery man. Else as touching the vulgar sort of the people, which be both most in number, and haue most neede to knowe their duties, were it not as good for them, that no law were made at all, as when it is made, to bring so blind an interpretation vppon it, that without great wit and long arguing no man can discusse it? To the finding out whereof, neither the grosse iudgement of the people can attaine, neyther the whole life of them that be occupied in working for their liuings, can suffice thereto. These vertues of the Vtopians haue caused their next neighbours and borderers, which liue free and vnder no subiection (for the Vtopians long agoe, haue deliuered many of them from tyrannie) to take Magistrates of them, some for a yeare, and some for fiue yeares space. Which when the time of their office is expired, they bring home againe with honour and praise, and take newe againe with them into their Countrey.

These nations haue vndoubtedly very wel and holsomely prouided for their common-wealthes. For seeing that both the making and the marring of the weale publique, doth depend and hang vppon the maners of the rulers and Magistrates, what officers coulde they more wisely haue chosen, then those which cannot be led from honestie by bribes (for to them that shortly after shal depart thence into their owne countrey money should be vnprofitable) nor yet bee moued either with fauour, or malice towardes any man, as beeing strangers, & vnacquainted with the people? The which two vices of affectiõ and auarice, where they take place in iudgements, incontinent they breake iustice, the strongest and surest bond of a common wealth. These peoples which fetch their officers and rulers from them, the Vtopians call their

fellowes. And other to whom they haue bin benificiall, they call their friends. As touching leagues, which in other places betweene countrey & countrey, be ſo often concluded, broken, and renewed, they neuer make none with any nation. For to what purpoſe ſerue leagues, ſay they? As though nature had not ſette ſufficient loue betweene man and man. And who ſo regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will paſſe for woords? They be brought into this opinion chieflie, becauſe that in thoſe parts of the world, leagues betweene Princes be wont to bee kept and obſerued very ſlenderly. For heere in Europa, and eſpecially in theſe partes where the faith and religion of Chriſt reigneth, the maieſtie of leagues is euery where eſteemed holy and inuiolable: partlie through the iuſtice and goodnes of Princes, and partly at the reuerence and motion of the head Biſhops. Which like as they make no promiſe themſelues, but they do very religiouſly performe the ſame, ſo they exhort all Princes in any wiſe to abide by their promiſes, and them that refuſe or denie ſo to do, by their pontificall power and authoritie, they compell thereto. And ſurely they thinke well that it might ſeeme a very reproachfull thing, if in the leagues of them which by a peculiar name be called faithfull, faith ſhuld haue no place. But in that new found part of the world, which is ſcarcely ſo farre from vs beyond the line equinoctiall, as our life and maners be diſſident from theirs, no truſt nor confidence is in leagues. But the mo and holier ceremonie the league is knit vp with, the ſoner it is broken by ſome cauillation found in the woords, which many times of purpoſe be ſo craftilie put in and placed, that the bandes can neuer bee ſo ſure nor ſo ſtrong, but they will finde ſome hole open to creepe out at, and to breake both league and truth. The which craftie dealing, yea the which fraud and deceit, if they ſhould knowe it to be practiſed among priuate men in their bargaines and contracts, they would incontinent cry out at it with an open mouth, and a ſowre countenance, as an offence moſt deteſtable, and woorthie to be punished with a

Of leagues.

shamefull death: yea euen very they that aduãce themselues authors of like counsaile, is giuen to Princes. Wherefore it may well be thought, eyther that all iustice is but a base and a lowe vertue, and which auaileth it self farre vnder the high dignitie of Kings: Or at the least-wise, that there bee two iustices, the one meet for the inferiour sort of the people, going a foote and creeping lowe by the ground, and bounde downe on euery side with many bands, because it shall not run at rouers. The other a princelie vertue, which like as it is of much higher Maiestie, then the other poore iustice, so also it is of much more libertie, as to the which nothing is vnlawfull that it lusteth after. These manners of Princes (as I said) which be there so euill keepers of leagues, cause the Vtopians, as I suppose, to make no leagues at all, which perchaunce woulde chaunge their mind if they liued heere. Howbeit they thinke that though leagues be neuer so faithfully obserued and kept, yet the custome of making leagues was verie euill begun. For this causeth men (as though nations which be seperate a sunder, by the space of a little hill or a riuer, were coupled togither by no societie or bond of nature) to thinke themselues borne aduersaries and enemies one to an other, and that it were lawfull for the one to seeke the death and destruction of the other, if leagues were not: yea, and that after the leagues be accorded, friendship doth not growe and increase: But the licence of robbing and stealing doth still remaine, as far forth as for lacke of foresight and aduisement in writing the wordes of the league, any sentence or clause to the contrarie is not therein sufficiently comprehended. But they be of a contrary opinion. That is, ỹ no man ought to be counted an enemy, which hath donne no iniurie. And that the fellowship of nature is a strong league, and that men be better and more surely knit togither by loue & beneuolẽce, then by couenants of leagues: by heartie affection of mind, then by wordes.

The second Booke

Of Warfare.

WArre or Battell as a thing very beastly, and yet to no kinde of beasts in so much vse as to man, they doo detest and abhorre. And contrary to the custome almost of all other nations, they count nothing so much against glorie, as glorie gotten in warre. And therefore though they do daily practise and exercise themselues in the discipline of warre, and not only the men, but also the women vpon certain appointed daies, lest they should be to seek in the feat of armes, if need should require, yet they neuer go to battel, but either in the defence of their owne Country, or to driue out of their friends land the enemies that haue inuaded it, or by their power to deliuer from the yoake and bondage of tyrannie some people, that by therewith oppressed. Which thing they doo of meere pittie and compassion. Howbeit they sende helpe to their friends, not euer in their defence, but sometimes also to requite and reuenge iniuries before to them done. But this they do not vnlesse their counsel and aduise in the matter be asked, whiles it is yet new and fresh. For if they finde the cause probable, and if the contrary part will not restore again such things as be of them iustly demaunded, then they be the chiefe authors and makers of the warre. Which they do not only as oft as by inrodes and inuasions of souldiers praies and booties be driuen, but then also much more mortally, when their friends marchants in any land, either vnder the pretence of vniust lawes, or else by the wresting and wrong vnderstanding of good lawes, do sustaine an vniust

accusation

accusation vnder the colour of iustice. Neither the battaile which the Vtopians fought for the Nephelogetes against the Alaopolitanes a litle before our time, was made for any other cause, but that the Nephelogete marchant men, as the Vtopians thought, suffered wrong of the Alaopolitans, vnder the pretence of right. But whether it were right or wrong, it was with so cruell and mortall warre reuenged, the Countries round about ioyning their helpe and power to the puissance and malice of both parties, that most flourishing and wealthy peoples, being some of them shrewedly shaken, and some of them sharpely beaten, ỹ mischiefs were not finished nor ended, vntill the Alaopolitanes, at the last were yeelded vp as bondmen into the iurisdiction of the Nephelogets. For the Vtopians fought not this war for themselues. And yet the Nephelogets before the war, when the Alaopolitanes florished in wealth, were nothing to be compared with them. So eagerly the vtopians prosecute the iniuries done to their friends: yea, in money matters, & not their own likewise. For if they by coueine or guile be wiped beside their goods, so that no violence be don to their bodies, they wreak their anger by abstaining from occupying with that natiõ, vntill they haue made satisfactiõ. Not for because they set lesse store by their own citizens, thẽ by their friends: but that they take ỹ losse of their friends money more heauily then ỹ losse of their own. Because ỹ their friends merchant men, for as much as ỹ they lose is their owne priuate goods, sustaine great damage by the losse. But their owne citizens lose nothing but of the commõ goods, & of that which was at home plentiful & almost superfluous, else had it not bin sent forth. Therefore no man feeleth the losse. And for this cause they thinke it too cruell an act, to reuenge ỹ losse with the death of man, the incommoditie of the which losse no man feeleth neyther in his life, nor yet in his liuing. But if it chance that any of their men be in any other country be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a cõmon or a priuate counsel, knowing & trying out the truth of the mat-

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ter by theyr ambassadours, vnlesse the offenders be rendered vnto them in recompence of the iniurie, they will not be appeased: but incontinent they proclaime warre against them. The offenders yeelded, they punish either with death, or with bondage. They be not onely sorie, but also ashamed to atchiue the victorie with bloudshed, counting it great follie to buie precious wares too deere. They reioice and auant themselues, if they vanquish and oppresse their enemie by craft and deceit. And for that act they make a generall triumph, and as if the matter were manfullie handled, they set vp a piller of stone in the place, where they so vanquished their enemies, in token of the victorie. For then they glorie, then they boaste and cracke, that they haue played the men indeede, when they haue so ouercome, as no other liuing creatour, but onelie man could: that is to say, by the might and puissance of wit. For with bodilie strength (say they) beares, lions, bores, wolfes, dogges, and other wilde beasts do fight. And as the most part of thē do passe vs in strength and fierce courage, so in wit and reason we bee much stronger then they all. Their chiefe and principal purpose in war, is to obtaine that thing, which if they had before obteined, they woulde not haue moued battaile. But if that bee not possible, they take such cruell vengeaunce of them which be in the fault, that euer after they be afraid to do the like.

Victory deere bought.

This is their chiefe and principall intent, which they immediatly and first of all prosecute, and set forward. But yet so, that they bee more circumspect in auoyding and eschewing ieoperdies, then they be desirous of praise and renowme. Therefore immediatlye after that warre is once solemnlie denounced, they procure manie proclamations signed with their owne common seale, to be set vp priuilie at one time in theyr enemies land, in places most frequented. In these proclamations they promise great rewardes to him that will kill their enemies Prince, and somewhat lesse gifts, but them very great also, for euerie head of them, whose names be in ỹ said proclamations conteyned. They be those whom they

they count their chiefe aduersaries, next vnto the Prince whom there is prescribed vnto him that killeth any of ỳ proclaimed persons, that is doubled to him that bringeth any of the same to them aliue: yea, and to the proclaimed persons themselues, if they will change their mindes, and come into thẽ, taking their parts, they profer the same great rewardes with pardon, and suertie of their liues. Therefore it quickly commeth to passe, that their enemies haue all other men in suspicion, and be vnfaithfull, and mistrusting amõg themselues one to another, liuing in great feare, and in no lesse ieoperdie. For it is well knowne, that diuers times the most part of them (and specially the Prince himselfe) hath bene betraied of them, in whome they put their most hope & trust. So there is no manner of acte nor deede that gifts and rewards do not inforce men vnto. And in rewards they kepe no measure. But remembring and considering into how great hazard and ieoperdie they call them, endeuour themselues to recompence the greatnesse of the danger with like great benefits. And therefore they promise not onely wonderfull great aboundance of gold, but also lands of great reuenewes lying in most safe places amõg their friends. And their promises they performe faithfully without any fraud or coyne.

This custome of buying and selling aduersaries, among other people is disallowed, as a cruell act of a base and a cowardish mind. But they in this behalfe think themselues much praise worthie, as who likewise, men by this meanes dispatch great warres without any battaile or skirmish. Yea they count it also a deede of pittie and mercie, because that by the death of a fewe offenders, the liues of a great number of innocents, as wel of their owne men, as also of their enemies, be raunsomed and saued, which in fighting should haue bene slaine. For they do no lesse pittie the base and common sort of their enemies people, then they do their owne: knowing that they be driuen & forced to war against their willes, by the furious madnesse of their Princes and

heads. If by none of theſe meanes the matter go forward, as they would haue it, then they procure occaſions of debate, and diſſentiõ to be ſpread among their enemies. As by bringing the Princes brother, or ſome of the noble men in hope to obtaine the kingdome. If this way preuaile not, then they raiſe vp the people that be next neighbours and borderers to their enemies, and them they ſette in their necks vnder the colour of ſome old title of right, ſuch as kings do neuer lacke. To them they promiſe their helpe and ayde in their warre. And as for money they giue them aboundance. But of their owne Citizens they ſend to them fewe or none: whome they make ſo much off, and loue ſo intirely, that they would not be willing to chaunge any of them for their aduerſaries Prince. But their gold and ſiluer, becauſe they keepe it all for this onely purpoſe, they lay it out frankly and freely: as who ſhould liue euen as wealthily, if they had beſtowed it euery pennie. Yea and beſides their richeſſe, which they keepe at home, they haue alſo an infinite treaſure abroad, by reaſon that (as I ſaid before) many nations be in their debt. Therefore they hire ſouldiours out of all countries and ſend them to battaile, but chiefly of the Zapoletes. This people, is fiue hundred miles from Vtopia eaſtward. They be hidious, ſauage, and fierce, dwelling in wilde woods, and high mountaines, where they were bred and brought vp. They be of an hard nature, able to abide and ſuſtaine heate, cold, and labour, abhorring from all delicate dainties, occupying no huſbandrie nor tillage of the ground, homely and rude both in building of their houſes and in their apparel, giuen vnto no gentleneſſe, but onely to the breeding and bringing vp of cattle. The moſt parte of their liuing is by hunting and ſtealing. They bee borne onelie to warre, which they diligently and earneſtly ſeeke for. And when they haue gotten it, they be wonderous glad thereof. They goe forth of their countrey in great companies togither, and whoſoeuer lacketh ſouldiours, there they proffer their ſeruice for ſmall wages. This

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is onely the craft that they haue to get their liuing by. They maintaine their liues, by seeking their death. For them with whome they bee in wages, they fight hardly, fiercely, and faithfully. But they binde themselues for no certaine time. But vpon this condition they enter into bonds, that the next day they will take part with the other side for greater wages, and the next day after that, they will be readie to come backe againe for a little more money. There be fewe warres there away, wherein is not a great number of them in both parties. Therefore it daily chaunceth, that nigh kinsfolke which were hyred togither on one part, and there very friendly and familiarly vsed themselues one with another, shortlye after being separate into contrary partes, runne one against an other enuiously and fiercelie: and forgetting both kindred and friendship, thrust their swordes one in another. And that for none other cause, but that they be hyred for contrary Princes for a little money. Which they do so highly regard and esteeme, that they will easily be prouoked to chaunge partes for a halfe-pennie more wages by the day. So quicklie they haue taken a smacke in couetousnesse. Which for all that, is to them no profit. For that they get by fighting, immediatelie they spende needelesse, vnthriftilye and wretchedlye in ryotte.

This people fighteth for the Vtopians against all nations, because they giue them greater wages, then any other nation will. For the Vtopians like as they seeke good men to vse wel, so they seeke these euil and vicious men to abuse. Whom, when need requireth, with promises of great rewardes, they put forth into great ieoperdies. From whence the most part of them neuer commeth again to aske their rewards. But to them that remaine aliue, they pay that which they promised faithfully, that they may be the more willing to put themselues in like dannger another time. For the Vtopians passe not how many of them they

bring to deſtruction. For they beleeue that they ſhould do a very good deede for all mankind, if they could rid out of that world all that foule ſtinking den of that moſt wicked & curſed people. Next vnto theſe, they vſe the ſouldiours of them for whom they fight: and thē the help of their other friends. And laſt of all, they ioyne to their owne citizens. Among whom, they giue to one of tried vertue and powers, the rule, gouernance, and conduction of the whole armie. Vnder him they appoint two other, which, whiles he is ſafe, be both priuate and out of office. But if he be taken or ſlaine, the one of the other two ſucceedeth him, as it were by inheritaunce. And if the ſecond miſcarrie, then the third taketh his roome, leaſt that (as the chance of battaile is vncertaine and doubtfull) the ieoperdie or death of the captaine ſhoulde bring the whole armie in hazard. They chooſe ſouldiours out of euery cittie, thoſe, which put forth themſelues willingly. For they thruſt no man forth into warre againſt his will. Becauſe they beleeue, if any man be fearefull and faint hearted of nature, he will not onely do no manfull and hardie act himſelf, but alſo be occaſion of cowardneſſe to his fellowes. But if any battaile be made againſt their owne Countrey, then they put theſe cowards (ſo that they be ſtrōg bodied) in ſhips among other bold hearted men. Or elſe they diſpoſe them vpon the walles, from whence they may not flie. Thus what for ſhame that their enemies be at hand, and what for becauſe they be without hope of running away, they forget all feare. And many times extreame neceſſitie turneth cowardneſſe into prowefſe and manlineſſe. But as none of them is thruſt forth of his countrey into warre againſt his will, ſo women that be willing to accōpany their huſbands in times of war, bee not prohibited or letted. Yea they prouoke and exhort them to it with praiſes. And in ſet field the wiues do ſtand euery one by their owne huſbands ſide. Alſo euery man is compaſſed next about with his owne children, kinſfolkes, and alliaunce. That they whom nature chiefely moueth to mutuall ſuccour, thus ſtanding togither, may helpe

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one another. It is a great reproach and dishonestie for the husband to come home without his wife, or the wife without her husband, or the sonne without his father. And therefore if the other part sticke so hard by it, that the battel come to their hands, it is fought with great slaughter and bloudshead, euen to the vtter destruction of both parties. For as they make all the meanes and shiftes that may be, to keepe themselues from the necessitie of fighting, or that they may dispatch the battell by their hired souldiers, so when there is no remedie, but that they must needes fight themselues, then they do as couragiously fall to it, as before, whiles they might, they did wisely auoyd and refuse it. Nor they be not most fierce at the first brunt. But in continuance by little and little their fierce courage encreaseth, with so stubborne and obstinate mindes, that they will rather die then giue backe an inch. For that suretie of liuing, which euery man hath at home, being ioyned with no carefull anxietie or remembrance how their posteritie shall liue after them (for this pensiuenesse oftentimes breaketh and abateth couragious stomackes) maketh them stout and hardie, and disdainfull to be conquered. Moreouer, their knowledge in chiualrie and feates of armes, putteth them in a good hope. Finally, the wholesome and vertuous opinions, wherein they were brought vp euen from their childhood, partly through learning, and partly through the good ordinances and lawes of their weale publique, augment and encrease their manful courage. By reason whereof, they neither set so litle store by their liues, that they will rashly and vnaduisedly cast them away: nor they be not so farre in lewde and fond loue therwith, that they will shamefully couet to keepe them, when honestie biddeth leaue them. When the battel is hottest, and in all places most fierce and feruent, a bande of chosen and picked yong men, which be sworne to liue & die togithers, take vpō them to destroy their aduersaries captain. Whom they inuade now with priuie wiles, now by open strength. At him they strike both neare and farre off. He is assayled

The Captaine is chiefly to be pursued, to the intent the battell may the sooner be ended.

with a long and a continuall assault, fresh men still comming in the wearied mens places. And seldome it chaunceth, (vnlesse hée saue himselfe by flying) that hee is not either slain, or else taken prisoner, and yéelded to his enemies aliue. If they win the field, they persecute not their enemies with the violent rage of slaughter. For they had rather take them aliue, then kill them. Neither doo they followe the chase and pursute of their enemies, but they leaue behinde them one parte of their hoast in battaile array, vnder their standards. In so much, that if all their whole armie be discomfited and ouercome, sauing the rereward, and that they therewith atchieue the victorie, then they had rather let all their enemies scape, then to follow them out of array. For they remember it hath chaunced vnto themselues more then once: the whole power & strength of their hoste being vanquished and put to flight, whiles their enemies reioycing in the victorie haue persecuted them, flying some one way & some another, a small companie of their men lying in an ambush, there readie at all occasions, haue sodainely risen vpon them thus dispersed and scattered out of array, and through presumption of safetie, vnaduisedly pursuing the chase, and haue incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battaile, and spite of their téethes wresting out of their hands the sure and vndoubted victorie, being a little before conquered, haue for their parte conquered the conquerers. It is hard to say whether they be craftier in laying an ambush, or wittier in auoyding the same. You would thinke they intended to flie, when they meane nothing lesse. And contrariwise, when they go about that purpose, you would beléeue it were the least part of their thought. For if they perceiue themselues either ouermatched in number, or closed in too narrow a place, then they remoue their campe either in the night season with silence, or by some policie they deceiue their enemies, or in the day time they retire backe so softlie, that it is no lesse ieopardie to meddle with them when they giue backe, then when they

they preasse on. They fence and fortifie their campe surely with a deepe and a broad trench. The earth thereof is cast inward. Nor they do not set drudges and slaues a worke about it. It is done by the hands of the souldiers themselues. All the whole Armie worketh vppon it, except them that keep watch and ward in harnis before the trench for sodain aduentures. Therefore by the labour of so many, a large trench closing in a great compasse of ground, is made in lesse time then any man would beleeue. Their Armour or harnesse which they weare, is sure and strong to receiue stroakes, and handsome for all mouuings and gestures of the bodie, in so much that it is not vnweldie to swimme in. For in the discipline of their warfare, among other feates they learne to swim in harnesse. Their weapons be arrowes alwfe, which they shoote both strongly and surely, not onely fotemen, but also horsemen. At hande stroakes they vsed not swords, but Pollaxes, which be mortall, as well in sharpenesse as in weight, both for foynes and downe stroakes. Engines for warre they deuise and inuent wondrous wittily. Which when they bee made they keepe verie secret, least if they should be knowne before neede require, they should be but laughed at, and serue to no purpose. But in making them, hereunto they haue cheefe respect, that they bee both easie to be carried, and handsome to be moued, and turned about. Truce taken with their enemies for a short time, they do so firmely and faythfully keepe, that they will not breake it, no, not though they be thereunto prouoked. They doo not waste nor destroy their enemies land with forragings, nor they burne not vp their Corne. Yea, they saue it as much as may be from being ouerrunne and troden down, either with men or horses, thinking that it groweth for their owne vse and profit. They hurt no man that is vnarmed, vnlesse he be an Espyall. All Citties that be yeelded vnto them, they defende. And such as they winne by force of assault, they neither dispoyle nor sack, but them that withstood

Their armour.

Of truces.

withstood and dissuaded the yeelding vp of the same, they put to death, the other souldiers they punish with bondage. All the weake multitude they leaue vntouched. If they know that any Citizens counselled to yelde and render vp the Citie, to them they giue part of the condemned mens goods. The residue they distribute and giue freely among them, whose helpe they had in the same warre. For none of themselues taketh any portion of the praie. But when the battell is finished and ended, they put their friends to neuer a penny cost of all the charges that they were at, but laie it vpon their neckes that be conquered. Them they burthen with the whole charge of their expenses, which they demaund of them, partly in mony, to be kept for like vse of battell, and partly in lands of great reuenewes, to be payd vnto them yearly for euer. Such reuenewes they haue now in many Countries. Which by litle and litle rising of diuers and sundry causes, be increased aboue seuen hundred thousand ducates by the yeare. Thither they send forth some of their Citizens as Lieutenaunts, to liue there sumptuously, like men of honour and renowne. And yet this notwithstanding, much money is saued, which commeth to the common treasury: vnlesse it so chaunce, that they had rather trust the Countrey with the money. Which many times they do so long, vntil they haue neede to occupie it. And it seldome happeneth, that they demaund all. Of these landes they assigne part vnto them, which at their request and exhortation, put themselues in such ieoperdies, as I spake of before. If any Prince stirre vp warre against them, intending to inuade their land, they meete him incontinent out of their owne borders, with great power and strength. For they neuer lightly make warre in their owne Countrey. Nor they be neuer brought into so extreme necessitie, as to take helpe out of forreyne lands into their owne Iland.

Of

Of the religions in Vtopia.

THere be diuers kinds of religions, not onely in sundrie parts of the Iland, but also in diuers places of euery cittie. Some worship for God, the Sunne: some the Mone: some, some other of ỳ Plannets. There be that giue worship to a man that was once of excellent vertue or of famous glory, not onely as God, but also as the chiefest and highest God. But the most and the wisest part (reiecting all these) beleeue, that there is a certaine godlie power vnknowne, euerlasting, incomprehensible, inexplicable, far aboue the capacitie and reach of mans witte, dispersed throughout al the world, not in bignesse, but in vertue and power. Him they call the father of all. To him alone they attribute the beginnings, the increasings, the procedings, the chaunges, and the ends of all things. Neither they giue any diuine honours to any other then to him. Yea all the other also, though they be in diuers opinions, yet in this point they agree all togither with the wisest sort, in beleeuing that there is one principall God, the maker and ruler of the whole world: whom they all commonly in their countrey language call Mythra. But in this they disagree, that among some he is counted one, and among some an other. For euery one of them, whatsoeuer ỳ is which he taketh for the chief god, thinketh it to be the very same nature, to whose only diuine might and maiestie, the summe & soueraignte of all things by the consent of all people is attributed and giuen. Howbeit they all begin by little and little to forsake and fall from this varietie of superstitions, and to agree togither in ỳ religion which seemeth by reason to passe and excell the residue. And it is not to be doubted, but al the other would long agoe haue beene abolished, but that whatsoeuer vnprosperous thing happened to any of them, as hee was minded to change his religion, the fearefulnesse of peo-

ple did take it, not as a thing comming by chaunce, but as ſent from God out of heauen. As though the God, whoſe honour he was forſaking, would haue reuenged that wicked purpoſe againſt him. But after they heard vs ſpeake of the name of Chriſt, of his doctrine, lawes, myracles, and of the no leſſe wonderfull conſtancie of ſo many martyrs, whoſe bloud willingly ſhead, brought a great number of nations throughout all parts of the world into their ſect: you will not beleeue with how glad mindes, they agreed vnto the ſame: whether it were by the ſecret inſpiration of God, or elſe for that they thought it nigheſt vnto that opinion, which among them is coũted the chiefeſt. Howbeit I think this was no ſmall helpe and furtheraunce in the matter, that they hearde vs ſay, that Chriſt inſtituted among his, all things common: and that the ſame communitie doth yet remaine amongſt the righteſt Chriſtian companies. Verily howſoeuer it came to paſſe, many of them conſented together in our religion, and were waſhed in the holy water of Baptiſme. But becauſe among vs foure (for no mo of vs was left aliue, two of our companie being dead) there was no prieſt, which I am right ſorie for: they being entred and inſtructed in all other points of our religion, lack onely thoſe ſacraments, which here none but prieſts doo miniſter. Howbeit they vnderſtand and perceiue them, and be very deſirous of the ſame. Yea, they reaſon and diſpute the matter earneſtly among themſelues, whither without the ſending of a Chriſtian Biſhop, one choſen out of their owne people, may receiue the order of prieſthode. And truly they were minded to chooſe one. But at my departure from them they had choſen none.

Religious houſes.

They alſo which doo not agrée to Chriſtes religion, feare no man from it, nor ſpeake againſt any man that hath receiued it. Sauing that one of our companie in my preſence was ſharpely punished. For as ſoone as hee was baptiſed, began againſt our willes, with more earneſt affection, then wiſedome, to reaſon of Chriſtes religion:

and

and began to ware so hotte in this matter, that hee did not onelie preferre our religion before all other, but also did vtterly despise and condemne al other, calling them prophane, and the followers of them wicked and diuelish, and the children of euerlasting damnation. When hee had thus long reasoned the matter, they laide holde on him, accused him, and condemned him into exile, not as a despiser of religion, but as a sedicious person, and a rayser vp of dissention among the people. For this is one of the auncientest lawes among them: that no man shall be blamed for reasoning in the mainteinaunce of his owne religion. For King Vtopus, euen at the first beginning, hearing that the inhabitants of the land were before his comming thither, at continuall dissention and strife among themselues for their religions: perceiuing also that this common dissention (whiles euery seuerall secte toke seuerall partes in fighting for their countrey) was the onelie occasion of his conquest ouer them all, assone as he had gotten the victorie. First of all, he made a decree, that it should be lawfull for euery man to fauour and followe what religion hee would, and that hee might do the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that hee did it peaceablie, gentlie, quietlie, and soberlie; without hastie and contentious rebuking and inueying against other. If he could not by fayre and gentle speache induce them vnto his opinion, yet he should vse no kinde of violence, and refraine from displeasaunt and sedcious words. To him that would vehementlie and feruentlie in this cause strife and contend, was decréede, banishment, or bondage. This lawe did King Vtopus make, not onelie for the mainteinance of peace, which he saw through continuall contentation and mortal hatred vtterly extinguished: but also because hee thought this decree should make for the furtherance of religion. Whereof he durst define and determine nothing vnaduisedly, as doubting whither God desiring manifold and diuers sortes of honour, would inspire sundrie men with sundry kindes of religion. And this

Sedicious reasoners punished.

ſurely he thought a very vnmeete and foolish thing, & a point of arrogant preſumption, to compel al other by violence and threatnings to agrée to the ſame, that thou beléeueſt to bee true. Furthermore, though there bee one religion, which alone is true, and all other vain and ſuperſtitious, yet did he well foreſée (ſo that the matter were handled with reaſon, and ſober modeſtie) that the truth of the owne power wold at the laſt iſſue out and come to light. But if contention and debate in that behalfe ſhould continually be vſed, as ỹ worſt men be moſt obſtinate and ſtubborne, and in their euil opinion moſt conſtant: he perceiued that then the beſt and holieſt religion would be troden vnderfote and deſtroyed by moſt vaine ſuperſtitions, euen as good corne is by thornes and weedes ouergrowne and choaked. Therefore all this matter hee left vndiſcuſſed, and gaue to euerie man frée libertie and choyſe to beléeue what he would. Sauing that he earneſtly and ſtraitly charged them, that no man ſhould conceiue ſo vile and baſe an opinion of the dignitie of mans nature, as to thinke that the ſoules do die and periſh with the bodie: or that the world runneth at all aduentures, gouerned by no diuine prouidence. And therefore they beléeue that after this life vices be extreamely puniſhed, and vertues bountifully rewarded. He that is of a contrary opinion, they count not in the number of men, as one that hath auailed the high nature of his ſoule, to the vileneſſe of brute beaſtes bodies: much leſſe in the number of their Citizens, whoſe lawes and ordinaunces, if it were not for feare, he would nothing at all eſtéeme. For you may be ſure that he will ſtudie either with craft priuily to mocke, or elſe violently to breake the common lawes of his countrey; in whome remaineth no further feare then of the lawes, nor no further hope then of the bodie. Wherefore he that is thus minded is depriued of all honors, excluded frō al offices, and reiect from all common adminiſtrations in the weale publique.

No vile opinion to be conceiued of mās worthy nature.

Irreligious people ſecluded frō all honours.

And thus he is of al ſorts deſpiſed, as of an vnprofitable, & of

a base and vile nature. Howbeit, they put him to no punishment, because they be perswaded, that it is in no mans power to beleeue what hee list. No, nor they constraine him not with threatnings to dissemble his minde, and shewe countenance contrarie to his thought. For deceit and falshood, and all manner of lies, as next vnto fraud, they do maruailously detest and abhorre. But they suffer him not to dispute in his opinion, and that onely among the common people. For else apart among the priests and men of grauitie they do not onely suffer, but also exhort him to dispute and argue, hoping that at the last, that madnesse will giue place to reason. There be also other, and of them no smal number, which be not bidden to speak their minds, as grounding their opinion vpon some reason, being in their liuing neither euill nor vicious. Their heresie is much contrarie to the other. For they beleeue that the soules of brute beasts be immortall and euerlasting. But nothing to be compared with others in dignitie, neither ordained and predestinate to like felicitie. For all they beleeue certainely and surely that mans blisse shall be so great, that they do mourne and lament euery mans sickenesse, but no mans death, vnlesse it be one whom they see depart from his life carefully, and against his will. For this they take for a verie euill token, as though the soule being in dispaire, and vexed in conscience, through some priuie and secret foresee-ling of the punishment nowe at hand, were afraide to depart. And they thinke he shall not be welcome to God, which when he is called, runneth not to him gladly, but is drawne by force, and fore against his will. They therefore that see this kinde of death, do abhorre it, and them that so die, they burie with sorrow and silence. And when they haue prayed to God to be mercifull to the soule, and mercifull to pardon the infirmities thereof, they couer the dead corse with earth. Contrariwise, all that depart merily and full of good hope, for then no man mourneth, but followeth the hearse with ioyfull singing, commending the soules to

A verie strange saying.

Deceit and falshood detested.

A maruailous strange opinion touching the soules of brute beasts.

To die vnwillingly an euill token.

A willing and a merrie death not to bee lamented.

God with great affection. And at the laſt, not with mourning ſorrow, but with a great reuerence they burne the bodies. And in the ſame place they ſet vp a piller of ſtone, with the dead mens titles therein graued. When they be come home, they rehearſe his vertuous maners & his good deeds. But no part of his life is ſo oft or gladly talked of, as his merie death. They think that this remembrance of the vertue and goodnes of the dead, doth vehemently prouoke & enforce the liuing to vertue. And that nothing can be more pleaſant and acceptable to the dead. Who they ſuppoſe to be preſent among them, when they talke of them, though to the dull and feeble eieſight of mortall men they be inuiſible. For it were an inconuenient thing, that the bleſſed ſhould not be at libertie to go whither they would. And it were a point of great vnkindneſſe in them, to haue vtterly caſt away the deſire of viſiting & ſeeing their friends, to whom they were in their life time ioyned by mutuall loue and amitie. Which in good men after their death, they count to be rather increaſed then diminiſhed. They beleeue therefore that the dead be preſently conuerſant among the quick, as beholders and witneſſes of all their words and deeds. Therefore they go more courageiouſly to their buſineſſe, as hauing a truſt and aſſiance in ſuch ouerſeers. And this ſame beleefe of the preſent conuerſation of their forefathers & auncеſtors among them, feareth them from all ſecret diſhoneſtie. They vtterly deſpiſe and mocke ſouthſayings & diuinations of things to come, by the flight and voyces of birds, and all other diuination of vaine ſuperſtition, which in other countries be in great obſeruation. But they highly eſteeme and worſhip miracles that come by no helpe of nature, as workes and witneſſes of the preſent power of God. And ſuch they ſay do chaunce there verie often. And ſometimes in great and doubtfull matters, by common interceſſion and prayers, they procure and obtaine them with a ſure hope and confidence, and a ſtedfaſt beleefe.

Soothſaiers not regarded nor credited.

Miracles.

The life contempla-

They thinke that the contemplation of nature, & the praiſe thereof

thereof comming, is to God a very acceptable honour. Yet there be many so earnestly bent & affected to religion, that they passe nothing for learning, nor giue their mindes to any knowledge of things. But idlenes they vtterly forsake and eschew, thinking felicity after this life to be gotten and obtained by busie labor & good exercises. Some therfore of them attend vpon the sick, some amend high waies, cleanse ditches, repaire bridges, dig turfes, grauell, & stone, fell and cleaue wood, bring wood, corne, and other things, into the cities in carts, and serue not only in common works, but also in priuate labours, as seruants: yea, more then bondmen. For whatsoeuer vnpleasant, hard, and vile worke is any where, from the which labour, lothsomnesse, & desperation doth fray other, all that they take vpon them willingly and gladly, procuring rest and quiet to other, remaining in continuall worke and labor themselues, not vpbraiding others therewith. They neither reproue other mens liues, nor glorie in their owne. These men the more seruiceable they behaue themselues, the more they be honoured of all men. Yet they be diuided into two sects. The one of them that liue single and chast, abstaining not only from the company of women, but also from eating of flesh, and some of them from all maner of beasts. Which vtterly reiecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtfull, be all wholly set vpon the desire of the life to come, by watching, wayting, and sweating, hoping shortly to obtaine it, being in the meane season merie & lustie. The other sect is no lesse desirous of labour, but they embrace matrimonie, not despising the solace therof, thinking that they cannot be discharged of their bounden duties towards nature, without labour and toyle, nor towardes their native countrey, without procreation of children. They abstaine from no pleasure that doth nothing hinder them from labour. They loue the flesh of foure footed beasts, because they beleeue that by the meate they be made hardie and stronger to worke. The Vtopians count this sect the wiser, but the other the holier. Which

The life actiue.

It is not al one to be wise and good.

in

in that they preferre single life before matrimonie, and that sharpe life before the easier life, if herein they grounded vpon reason, they would mocke them. But nowe forasmuch as they say they be lead to it by religion, they honour and worship them. And these be they whom in their language by a peculiar name, they call Brutheſcas, the which word by interpretation, ſignifieth to vs, men of religio, not religious men. They haue priests of exceeding holineſſe, and therefore verie fewe. For there be but thirteene in euerie citie according to the number of their churches, ſauing when they go forth to battell. For then ſeauen of them go forth with the armie: in whoſe ſtædes ſo many new be made at home. But the other at their returne home againe, reenter euerie one into his owne place: they that be aboue the number, vntill ſuch time as they ſucceede into the places of the other at their dying, be in the meane ſeaſon continually in companie with the biſhop. For hee is the cheefe head of them all. They be choſen of the people, as the other magiſtrates be by ſecret voyces, for the auoyding of ſtrife. After their election, they be conſecrate of their owne companie. They be ouerſeers of al diuine matters, orderers of religions, and as it were iudges and maiſters of manners. And it is a great diſhoneſtie and ſhame to be rebuked or ſpoken to by any of them, for diſſolute and incontinent liuing. But as it is their office to giue good exhortations and counſell, ſo it is the dutie of the Prince and the other magiſtrates, to correct and puniſh offenders, ſauing that the priests, whom they finde exceeding vicious liuers, them they excommunicate from hauing any intreſt in diuine matters. And there is almoſt no punichment among them more feared. For they runne in very great infamie, and be inwardly tormented with a ſecret feare of religion, and ſhall not long eſcape free with their bodies. For vnleſſe they by quicke repentance approue the amendment of their liues to the priests, they be taken and puniſhed of the Counſel, as wicked and irreligious. Both childhood and youth is inſtructed and

Priests.

Excommunication.

taught

taught of them. For they bee not more diligent to instruct them in learning, then in vertue and good manners. For they vse with very great endeuour and diligence to put into the heads of their children, whiles they be yet tender, and pliant, good opinions and profitable for the conseruation of their weale publique. Which when they be once rooted in children, do remaine with them al their life after, & be wonderous profitable for their defence and maintainance of the state of ỹ cõmon wealth: which neuer decaieth but through vices rising of euil opinons. The Priestes, vnlesse they bee women (for that kind is not excluded from Priesthood, howbeit fewe be chosen, and none but widdowes and olde women) the men Priests, I say, take to their wiues the chiefest women in all their countrey. For to no office among the Vtopians is more honor and prehemine nce giuẽ. In so much that if they commit any offence, they be vnder no common iudgement, but be left onelie to god & themselues. For they thinke it not lawfull to touche him with mans hand, bee hee neuer so vicious, which after so singuler a sort was dedicate and consecrate to god, as a holy offering. This maner may they easily obserue, because they haue so fewe Priests, and do chose them with such circumspection. For it scarcely euer chanceth, that the most vertuous among vertuous, which in respect onelie of his vertue is aduanced to so high a dignitie, can fall to vice and wickednesse. And if it should chaunce in deede (as mans nature is mutable and fraile) yet by reason they be so fewe, and promoted to no might nor power, but onelie to honour it were not to be feared that any great dammage by them should happen and ensue to the commõ wealth. They haue so rare & fewe priests, least if the honour were communicated to many, the dignitie of the order, which among them now is so highly estæmed, shuld run in contempt. Specially because they thinke it hard to find many so good, as to be mæete for that dignity, to ỹ execution and discharge wherof it is not sufficient to be indued with mean vertues. Furthermore these Priestes be not more estæmed

The maiestie and prehemi-nence of Priestes.

of their owne countrey men, then they bee of forreigne and ſtraunge countries. Which thing may hereby plainlie appeare. And I thinke alſo ẏ this is the cauſe of it. For whiles the armies be fighting togither in opẽ field, they a litle beſide not far off, kneele vppon their knées in their hallowed veſtiments, holding vp their hands, to heauen: praying firſt of al for peace, next for victory of their owne parte, but to neither part a bloudie victory. If their hoſt get the vpper hand, they run into the maine battaile, and reſtraine their owne men frõ ſleying and cruelly purſuing their vanquiſhed enemies. Which enemies, if they do but ſée them & ſpeak to them, it is inough for the ſafe-guard of their liues. And the touching of their cloathes defendeth & ſaueth al their goods from rauine and ſpoile. This thing hath aduanced them to ſo great worſhip & true maieſtie among all natiõs, that many times they haue as well preſerued their owne cittizens from the cruell force of their enemies, as they haue their enemies from the furious rage of their owne men. For it is wel knowne, that when their owne armie hath reculed, and in diſpaire turned backe, and run away, their enemies fiercely purſuing with ſlaughter and ſpoile, then the Prieſtes comming betweéne haue ſtayed the murder, and parted both the hoaſts. So that peace hath béene made & concluded betweéne both parts vpon equall and indifferent conditions. For there was neuer any nation, ſo fierce, ſo cruel, and rude, but they had them in ſuch reuerence, that they counted their bodies hallowed and ſanctified, and therefore not to be violently and vnreuerently touched. They kéepe holy the firſt and the laſt day of euery moneth and yeare, diuiding the yeare into monethes, which they meaſure by the courſe of ẏ Mone, as they do the yeare by the courſe of the Sunne. The firſt daies they call in their language Cinemernes, and the laſt Trapemernes, the which words may be interpreted, Primiſeſt and Finiſeſt, or elſe in our ſpeech, firſt feaſte and laſt feaſt. Their churches be very gorgious, and not onely of fine and curious workemãſhip, but alſo (which in the fewenelle of them

The obſeruation of holidaies among the Vtopians.

Their churches.

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wons necessarie) very wide and large, and able to receiue a great company of people. But they be all somewhat darke. Howbeit that was not donc through ignorance in building, but as they say, by the counsaile of the Priestes. Because they thought that ouermuch light doth disperse mens cogitations, whereas in dimme and doubtfull light they bee gathered togither, and more earnestly fixed vpon religion and deuotion: which because it is not there of one sort among all men, and yet all the kinds and fashions of it, though they be sundrie and manifold, agree togither in the honour of the diuine nature, as going diuers waies to one ende: therefore nothing is seene nor heard in the churches, but that seemeth to agree indifferently with them all. If there bee a distinct kind of sacrifice peculiar to any seuerall sect, that they execute at home in their owne houses. The common sacrifices be so ordered, that they be no derogation nor preiudice to any of the priuate sacrifices and religions. Therefore no Image of any God is seene in the church, to the intent it may be free for euery man to conceiue God by their religion after what likenesse and similitude they will. They call vpon no peculiar name of God, but onely Mythra. In the which word they al agree togither in one nature of the diuine Maiestty whatsoeuer it be. No praiers be vsed but such as euery man may boldly pronounce without the offending of any secte. They come therefore to the Church, the last day of euery moneth and yeare in the euening yet fasting, there to giue thankes to GOD for that they haue prosperously passed ouer the yeare or moneth, whereof that holie day is the last day. The next daye they come to the Church earlie in the morning, to praye to GOD that they may haue good fortune and successe all the newe yeare or moneth, which they do vse to begin of that same holie daye. But in the hollie dayes that bee the laste daies of the monethes and yeares, before they come to the Church, the wiues fall downe prostrate before their husbands feete at home, & the children before the fet of their parents,

Churches of dimme light, and a reason why.

rents, confessing and acknowledging themselues offenders either by some actuall deed, or by cõmission of their duty, and desire pardon for their offence. Thus if any cloude of priuie displeasure was risen at home, by this satisfaction it is ouerblowne, that they may be present at the sacrifices with pure and charitable minds. For they be afraid to come there with troubled consciences. Therefore if they know themselues to beare any hatred or grudge towards any mã, they presume not to come to the sacrifices, before they haue reconciled thẽselues and purged their consciences, for feare of great vengeance and punishment for their offence. When they come thither, the men goe into the right side of the Church, and the women into the left side. There they place themselues in such order, that al they which be of the male-kind in euery houshold, sit before the good man of the house, and they of the female-kinde before the good wife. Thus it is foreseene, that all their gestures and behauiours bee marked and obserued abroad of them, by whose authoritie & discipline they be gouerned at home. This also they diligently see vnto, that the younger euermore be coupled with his elder, least children being ioyned togither, they should passe ouer ẏ time in childish wãtonnes, wherin they ought principally to cõceiue a religious and deuout feare towards god: which is ẏ chie and almost ẏ onely incitation to vertue. They kill no liuing beast in sacrifice, nor they thinke not that the mercifull clemencie of God hath dwelt in bloud & slaughter, which hath giuẽ life to beasts to the intent they should liue. They burne frankensence, & other sweete sauours, and light also a great number of wax candelles & tapers, not supposing this geere to be any thing anailable to the diuine nature, as neyther the praiers of men. But this vnhurtfull & harmlesse kinde of worship pleaseth them. And by these sweet sauours & lights, and other such ceremonies men feele themselues secretly lifted vp, and incouraged to deuotion with more willing and feruent hearts. The people weareth in the Church white apparell. The Priest is cloathed in chaungeable colours,

An order for places in the Church.

Ceremonies

which

which in workmanship be excellent, but in stuffe not very precious. For their vestiments be neither embrodered with gold, nor set with precious stones. But they be wrought so finely and lyningly with diuers feathers of foules, that the estimation of no costly stuffe is able to counteruaile the price of the worke. Furthermore, in these birds feathers, and in the due order of them, which is obserued in their setting, they say, is contained certaine diuine misteries. The interpretation wherof knowne, which is diligently taught by the priests, they be put in remembrance of the bountiful benefits of God toward them, and of the loue and honour which of their behalfe is due to God: and also of their duties one toward another. When the Prince first commeth out of the vestry thus apparrelled, they fall downe incontinent euerie one reuerently to the ground, with so still silence, that the verie fashion of the thing striketh into them a certaine feare of God, as though he were there personally present. When they haue lien a litle space on the ground, the priest giueth thē a signe to rise. When they sing praises vnto God, which they intermixt with instruments of musicke, for the most part of other fashions then these that wee vse in this part of the world. And like as some of ours be much sweeter then theirs, so some of theirs do farre passe ours. But in one thing doubtlesse they go exceeding farre beyonde vs. For all their musicke both that they play vpon instruments, and that they sing with mans voyce, doth so resemble and expresse naturall affections, the sound & tune is so applied and made agreeable to the thing, that whether it be a prayer, or else a dutie of gladnes, of patience, of trouble, of mourning, or of anger: the fashion of the melody doth so represent the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfully moue, stirre, pearce, and enflame the hearers minds. At the last, the people and the Priest togither, rehearse solemne prayers in words, expressely pronounced, so made, that euerie man may priuately apply to himselfe that which is commonly spoken of all. In these prayers euery man re-

Their church musick.

Prayers.

 cogniseth

cogniseth, & knowledgeth God to be his maker, his gouernour, and the principall cause of all other goodnes, thanking him for so many benefits receiued at his hand. But namely that through the fauour of God he hath chaunced into that publike weale, which is most happie and wealthie, and hath chosen that religion which he hopeth to be most true. In the which thing if he do any thing erre, or if there be any other better then either of them is, being more acceptable to God, he desireth him that he will of his goodnesse let him haue knowledge thereof, as one that is readie to follow what way soeuer he will leade him. But if this forme and fashion of a Common-wealth be best, and his owne Religion most true and perfect, then hee desireth God to giue him a constant stedfastnesse in the same, and to bring all other people to the same order of liuing, and to the same opinion of God, vnlesse there bee any thing that in this diuersitie of Religions doth delight his vnsearchable pleasure. To be short, he prayeth him that after his death he may come to him. But how soone or late that hee dare not assigne nor determine. Howbeit, if it might stand with his Maiesties pleasure, hee would bee much gladder to die a painefull death and so to go to God, then by long liuing in worldly prosperitie to bee away from him. When this prayer is sayd, they fall downe to the ground againe, and a little after they rise vp and go to dinner. And the residue of the day they passe ouer in playes, and exercise of chiualrie. Now I haue declared and described vnto you as truely as I could the forme and order of that Common-wealth, which verily in my iudgement is not onely the best, but also that which alone of good right may claime and take vpon it the name of a common-wealth or publike weale. For in other places they speake still of the common-wealth. But euerie man procureth his owne priuate gaine. Heere where nothing is priuate, the common affayres be earnestly looked vppon. And truely on both parts they haue good cause so to do as they do. For in other countries

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who knoweth not that hée shall starue for hunger, vnlesse hee make some seuerall prouision for himselfe, though the Common wealth flourish neuer so much in riches? And therefore the wealth is compelled euen of verie necessitie to haue regarde to himselfe, rather then to the people, that is to say, to others. Contrariwise, there where all things be common to euerie man, it is not to be doubted that any man shall lacke any thing necessarie for his priuate vses, so that the common store houses and barnes be sufficiently stored. For there nothing is distributed after a niggish sort, neither ther is any poore man or begger. And though no man haue any thing, yet euery man is rich. For what can be more rich, then to liue ioyfull and merily, without all greefe and pensiuenesse: Not caring for his owne liuing, nor vexed or troubled with his wifes importunate complaints, nor dreading pouertie to his sonne, nor sorrowing for his daughters dowrie. Yea they take no care at all for the liuing and wealth of themselues and all theirs, and theyr wiues, their children, their nephewes, their childrens children, and all the succession that euer shall followe in theyr posteritie. And yet besides this, there is no lesse prouision for them that were once labourers, and be now weake and impotent, then for them that do nowe labour and take paine. Heere nowe would I see, if any man dare bee so bolde as to compare with the equitie, the iustice of other Nations. Among whome, I forsake God, if I can finde any signe or token of equitie and iustice. For what iustice is this, that a rich Gold-smith, or an vsurer, or to bee short, any of them, which either do nothing at all, or else that which they doo is such, that it is not very necessarie to the Common wealth, should haue a pleasant and a wealthie liuing, either by idlenesse, or by vnnecessarie busines: When in the meane time poore labourers, carters, ironsmithes, carpenters, and plowmen, by so great and coutinual toyle, as drawing and baring beasts be scant able to sustaine, and againe so necessarie toyle, that without

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but if no common weaalth were able to continue and endure one yeere, ſhould yet get ſo hard and poore a liuing, and liue ſo wretched and miſerable a life, that the ſtate and condition of the labouring beaſt may ſeeme much better and welthier? For they be not put to ſo continuall labour, nor their liuing is not much worſe: yea, to them much pleaſanter, taking no thought in the meane ſeaſon for the time to come. But theſe ſillie poore wretches be preſently tormẽted with barraine and vnfruitfull labour. And the remembrance of their poore indigent and beggerly olde age killeth them vp. For their daily wages is ſo little, that it will not ſuffice for the ſame day, much leſſe it yeeldeth any ouerplus, that may daily be laide vp for the releefe of olde age. Is not this an vniuſt, and an vnkind publike weale, which giueth great fees and rewards to gentlemen, as they cal them, and to goldſmithes, and to ſuch other, which be either idle perſons, or elſe onely flatterers, and deuiſers of vaine pleaſures: And of the contrary part, maketh no gentle prouiſion for poore plowmen, colliers, laborers, carters, iron-ſmithes, and carpenters: without whom no common wealth can continue? But after it hath abuſed the labors of their luſtie and flowring age, at the laſt when they be oppreſſed with olde age and ſickneſſe, being needie, poore, and indigent of all things, then forgetting their ſo many painefull watchings, not remembring their ſo many and ſo great benefits, recompenceth and acquainteth them moſt vnkindly, with miſerable death. And yet beſides this, the rich men not onely by priuate fraud, but alſo by common lawes, do euery day pluck and ſnatch away from the poore, ſome part of their daily liuing. So whereas it ſeemed before vniuſt to recompence with vnkindneſſe their paines, that they haue bene beneficiall to the common-weale, now they haue to this their wrong and vniuſt dealing (which is yet a much worſe poynt) giuen the name of iuſtice, yea, and that by force of a law. Therefore when I conſider and weigh in my minde all theſe common-wealths, which nowe a daies

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any where do florish, so God helpe mee, I can perceiue nothing but a certaine conspiracy of rich men procuring their owne commodities, vnder the name and title of the common-wealth. They inuent & deuise all meanes and crafts, first how to kæp safely without feare of losing, ỳ they haue vniustly gathered together: and next how to hire and abuse the worke and labor of the pœre for as little money as may be. These deuises when the rich men haue decreed to bee kept and obserued vnder colour of the communaltie, that is to say, also of the pœre people, then they bee made lawes. But these most vicious and wicked men, when they haue by their vnsatiable couetousnesse deuided among themselues all those things, which would haue sufficed all men, yet how farre be they from the wealth and felicitie of the Vtopian Common-wealth: Out of the which, in that all the desire of money with the vse thereof is vtterly secluded and banished, how great a heape of cares is cut away: How great an occasion of wickednesse and mischiefe is pulled vp by the rote: For who knoweth not that fraud, theft, rauine, brauling, quarrelling, brabling, strife, chiding, contention, murder, treasõ, poisoning, which by daily punishments are rather reuenged then restrained, do die when money dieth: And also that feare, grœfe, care, labours, and watchings do perish euen the very same moment that money perisheth: Yet pouertie it selfe, which onely seemed to lacke money, if money were gone, it also would decrease and vanish away. And that you may perceiue this more plainely, consider with your selues some barren & vnfruitfull yeere, wherein many thousands of people haue starued for hunger: I dare be bold to say, that in the end of that penury so much corne or graine might haue bin founde in rich mens barns, if they had bin searched, as being diuided among thẽ whome famine and pestilence then consumed, no man at al should haue felt that plague & penury. So easily might men get their liuing, if that same worthie Princesse ladie mony did not alone stoppe vp the way betweene vs and our liuing,

Contempt of money.

uing, which a gods name was very excellently deuiſed and inuented, that by her the way thereto ſhould be opened. I am ſure the rich men perceiue this, nor they be not ignorant how much better it were to lacke no neceſſarie thing, then to abound with ouermuch ſuperfluitie: to be rid out of innumerable cares and troubles, then to be beſieged and encombred with great riches. And I doubt not that either the reſpect of euerie mans priuate commoditie, or els the authoritie of our ſauiour Chriſt (which for his great wiſedome could not but know what were beſt, and for his inestimable goodneſſe could not but counſell to that which he knew to the beſt) would haue brought all the world long ago into the lawes of this weale publike, if it were not the one onely beſt: the princeſſe and mother of all miſchiefe Pride, doth withſtand and let it. She meaſureth not wealth and proſperitie by her owne commodities, but by the miſerie and incommodities of other: ſhe would not by her good will be made a goddeſſe, if there were no wretches left, ouer whom ſhe might like a ſcornefull Ladie rule and triumph, ouer whoſe miſeries her felicities might ſhine, whoſe pouertie ſhe might vexe, torment, and encreaſe, by rigorouſly ſetting forth her riches. This helhound crepeth into mens hearts, and pulleth them backe from entring the right path of life, and is ſo deepely rooted in mens breaſts, that ſhe cannot be pulled out. This forme and faſhion of a weale publike, which I would gladly wiſh vnto al nations, I am glad yet that it hath chaunced to the Vtopians, which haue followed thoſe inſtitutions of life, whereby they haue laide ſuch foundations of their Common-wealth, as ſhall continue and laſt not onely wealthily, but alſo as farre as mans wit may iudge and coniecture, ſhall endure for euer. For, ſeeing the cheefe cauſes of ambition and ſedition, with other vices, be plucked vp by the rootes, and abandoned at home, there can be no ieopardie of domeſticall diſſention, which alone hath caſt vnder foote and brought to nought the well fortified and ſtrongly defenced wealth and riches of many

A marua-
lous ſaying

Pride.

Cities,

Cities. But for as much as perfect concord remaineth, and wholsome laws be executed at home, the enuie of al forrein princes be not able to shake or moue the empire, though they haue many times long ago gone about to do it, being euermore driuen back. Thus when Raphael had made an ende of his tale, though many things came to my minde, which in the maners and lawes of that people, seemed to be instituted and founded of no good reason, but onely in the fashion of their chiualrie, and in their sacrifices and religions, and in other of their lawes, but also, yea and chefely, in that which is the principall foundation of all their ordinances: that is to say, in the communitie of their life and liuing, without any occupying of money, by the which thing only all nobilitie, magnificence, worship, honour, and maiestie, the true ornaments and honours, as the common opinion is, of a common-wealth, vtterly bee ouerthrowne and destroyed: yet because I knew that he was wearie of talking, and was not sure whether hee could abide that any thing should be said against his mind: specially remembring that he had reprehended this fault in other, which be afraide least they should seeme not to be wise inough, vnlesse they could finde some fault in other mens inuentions: therefore I praysing both their institutions and his communication, take him by the hand, and led him in to supper, saying that we would chose another time to weigh & examine the same matters, & to talk with him more at large therein. Which would God it might once come to passe. In ỹ mean time, as I cannot agree and consent to all things that he said, being else without doubt a man singularly wel learned, & also in al worldly matter exactly & profoundly experienced: so must I needs confesse and grant, that many things be in the Utopian weale publike, which in our Cities I may rather wish for, then hope after.

Thus endeth the afternoones talke of Raphael Hythloday, concerning the lawes and institutions of the Iland of Vtopia.

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Thus endeth the afternoones talke of Raphael Hythloday, concerning the lawes and institutions of the Iland of Vtopia.

To the right Honorable Hierome Buſlyde, proueſt of *Arienum*, and counſellor of the Catholike king Charles, *Peter Giles* Citizen of *Antwerpe*, wiſheth health and felicitie.

THomas Moore the ſingular ornamẽt of this our age, as you your ſelfe (right honourable Buſlide) can witneſſe, to whom he is perfectly well knowne, ſent vnto me this other day, the Iland of Vtopia, to very few as yet knowne, but moſt worthie, which as far excelling Platoes common-wealth, all people ſhould be willing to know: ſpecially of a man moſt eloquent ſo finely ſet forth, ſo cunningly painted out, and ſo euidently ſubiect to the eie, that as oft as I reade it, me thinketh that I ſée ſomewhat more, then when I heard Raphael Hythloday himſelf (for I was preſent at that talk as wel as maſter Moore) vttering and pronouncing his owne words: yea, though the ſame man, according to his pure eloquence, did ſo open and declare the matter, that he might plainly inough appeare, to report not things, which he had learned of others onely by hearſay, but which he had with his own eies preſently ſeene, & thorowly viewed, and wherin he had no ſmal time bin conuerſant and abiding: a man truly, in mine opinion, as touching the knowledge of religions, peoples, and worldly experience, much paſſing, yea euen the very famous and renowmed trauailer Vliſſes: & indeed ſuch a one, as for the ſpace of theſe viii. C. yéeres paſt, I thinke nature into the world brought not forth his like: in compariſon of whõ, Veſpuce may be thought to haue ſéene nothing. Moreouer, whereas we be wont more effectually & pittifully to declare & expreſſe things that we haue ſéene, then which we haue but onely heard: there was beſides that in this man, a certaine peculiar grace, and ſingular dexteritie to diſcriue and ſet forth a matter withall. Yet the ſelfe ſame things as oft as I beholde and conſider them drawne and painted out with Maiſter Mores penſille, I am therewith ſo mooued, ſo delighted, ſo inflamed, and ſo rapt, that ſometime me thinke

I am presently conuersaunt, euen in the Iland of Vtopia. And I promise you, I can scant beleeue that Raphael himselfe by all that fiue yeares space that he was in Vtopia abiding, saw there so much, as heere in maister Moores discription is to be seene & perceiued. Which descriptiõ, with so many wondrous, and miraculous things is replenished, that I stand in great doubt, whereat first & chiefly to muse or meruaile: whether at the excellencie of his perfect and sure memorie, which could welnigh word by word rehearse so many things once onely heard: or else at his singular prudence, who so well and wittily marked and beare away all the originall causes and fountaines (to the vulgar people commonly most vnknowne) whereof both issueth and springeth the mortal confusion and vtter decay of a common wealth, and also the auancement and wealthie state of the same may rise and growe: or else at the efficacie and pithe of his words, which in so fine a latin stile, with such force of eloquẽce hath couched togither and comprised so many & diuers matters, specially being a man continually incombred with so many busie and troublesome cares, both publique, and priuate, as he is. Howbeit, all these things cause you little to meruaile (right honourable Buslid) for that you are familiarly and throughly acquainted with the notable, yea almost diuine wit of the man. But now to proceede to other matters, I surely know nothing needfull or requisit to be adioyned vnto his writings: Onely a meeter of foure verses written in the Vtopian tongue, which after maister Moores departure, Hythloday by chance shewed me: that haue I caused to be added thereto, with the Alphabet of the same nation, & haue also garnished the margeant of the booke with certain notes. For, as touching the situation of the Iland, that is to say, in what part of the world Vtopia standeth, the ignorance and lacke wherof not a litle troubleth & greeueth maister Moore, in deede Raphael left not that vnspoken off. Howbeit with very fewe words he lightly touched it, incidently by the way passing it ouer, as meaning of likelihood to keepe and reserue that to an other place. And the same, I wot not how, by a certaine euil and vnluckie chance escaped vs both. For whẽ

Raphael

Raphael was speaking therof, one of maister Moores seruants came to him, and whispered in his eare. Wherfore I being then of purpose more earnestly addict to heare, one of the company, by reason of cold taken, I think, a ship-board, coughed out so loude, ỹ he toke from my hearing certain of his words. But I will neuer stint, nor rest, vntil I haue got the full and exact knowledge hereof: insomuch that I will be able perfectly to instruct you, not only in ỹ longitude or true meridian of the Iland, but also in the iust latitude thereof: that is to say, in the sublenation or height of the pole in that Region, if our friende Hythloday be in safetie and aliue. For we heare verie vncertaine newes of him. Some report, that he died in his iourney homeward. Some again affirme, ỹ he returned into his countrey, but partly, for that he could not away with the fashions of his countrey folke, and partly for that his minde and affection was altogether set and fixed vpon Vtopia: they say that he hath taken his voyage thitherward againe. Now as touching this, that the name of this Iland is no where found among ỹ old and auncient cosmographers, this doubt Hythloday himselfe verie well dissolued. For why, it is possible inough (quoth hee) that the name, which it had in olde time, was afterward changed, or else that they neuer had knowledge of this Iland: forasmuch as now in our time diuers lands be found, which to ỹ old Geographers were vnknowne. Howbeit, what nedeth it in this behalfe to fortifie ỹ matter with arguments, seeing Master Moore is author hereof sufficient? But wheras he doubteth of the editiõ or imprinting of the booke, indeed herein I both commẽd, & also acknowledge the mans modestie. Howbeit, vnto me it seemeth a worke most vnworthie to be long suppressed, & most worthy to go abroad into the hands of men: yea, & vnder the title of your name, to be published to the world, either because the singular endowments & qualities of maister Moore bee to no man better knowne then to you: or else because no man is more fit and meete then you, with good counsels to further, and aduaunce the common-wealth, wherein you haue many yeers already continued & trauelled with great glory and

commendations

commendations, both for wisdom & knowledge, and also of integritie and vprightnesse. Thus a liberal supporter of good learning, and floure of this our time, I bid you most heartily well to fare.

A meter of foure verses in the Vtopian tong, briefly touching as well the straunge beginning, as also the happie and wealthie continuance of the same Common-wealth.

VTopus ha Bocca spoula chama polta chamaan.
Bargol he maglami Baccan soma gimnosophaon
Agrama gymnosophon labarem bacha bodamilomin.
Voluala barchin heman la lauoluala dramme pagloni.

Which verses the translator, according to his simple knowledge, & meane vnder standing in the Vtopian tongue, hath thus rudely englished.

My King and conquerour Vtopus by name,
A Prince of much renowme and immortall fame
Hath made me an Ile that earst no Iland was,
Full straight with worldly wealth with pleasure and pollace.
I one of all other without philosophie,
Haue shaped for man a philosophicall citie.
As mine, I am nothing daungerous to impart,
So better to receiue, I am readie with all my heart.

A short meter of Vtopia, written by Anemolius poet Laureate, and nephew to Hythloday by his sister.

Me Vtopie cleped Antiquitie,
Voide of haunt and harbrough.
Now am I like to Platoes cittie,
Whose fame flieth the world through.
Yea like, or rather more likely,
Platoes platte to excell and passe,
For what Platoes penne hath latted briefly,
In naked words, as in a glasse,

The

The same haue I perfourmed fully,
With lawes, with men, and treasure fitly.
Wherefore not Vtopie, but rather rightly
My name is Eutopie: A place of felicitie.

Gerard Nouiomage of Vtopia.

DOth pleasure please? thē place thée here, & wel thée rest,
Most pleasant pleasures thou shall find here,
Doth profit ease? then here arriue, this Ile is best.
For passing profits do heere appeare.
Doth both thée tempt, and wouldest thou gripe both gaine and pleasure?
This Ile is fraight with both bounteously.
To still thy grædie intent, reap here incomparable treasure.
Both minde and tongue to garnish richly.
The hid welles and fountaines both of vice and vertue,
Thou hast them here subiect vnto thine eye.
Be thankfull now, and thankes where thankes be due,
Giue to Thomas Moore Londons immortall glory.

Cornelius Graphey to the Reader.

WIlt thou knowe what wonders straunge bee in the land that late was found?
Wilt thou learn thy life to lead, by diuers waies ỹ godly be?
Wilt thou of vertue and of vice, vnderstand the very groūd?
Wilt thou see this wretched world, how full it is of vanitie?
Then read, and marke, and beare in mind, for thy behoofe, as thou may best:
All things that in this present worke, that worthy clarke sir Thomas More,
With wit diuine full learnedly, vnto the world hath plainly expresst:
In whom London well glorie may, for wisedome and for godly lore.

FINIS.